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Point Breeze and the Mailliards

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THE New Jersey Historical Society has recently received a gift of a large oil painting of Joseph Bonaparte's house, known as "Point Breeze," at Bordentown. The donor is Mrs. J. W. Mailliard, Jr., of San Francisco. For reasons that will shortly appear, the conjunction of these two family names nearly one hundred and twenty years since the final departure of Joseph Bonaparte from the United States provokes inquiry into the history of the painting, the circumstances that brought it into the ownership of the Mailliard family, and the relations of the Mailliards with Joseph Bonaparte.

The late husband of Mrs. Mailliard, the donor of the painting, was a grandson of Adolph Mailliard, who lived in Bordentown for many years until, in 1867, he moved with his family to California. In the year 1846, this Adolph Mailliard, described as a handsome young Frenchman, married Annie Ward, daughter of a New York family of distinguished background and connections and of large fortune. Most of the material that follows has been gleaned from various biographies and memoirs of members of the Ward family, so that a brief note on the particu-

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lar individuals in question will be useful in appraising the facts and opinions derived from these writings.

The Wards

Samuel Ward, descendant of a long line of distinguished patriots and public men in Rhode Island, whose father had come to New York after the Revolution, became head of the important private banking firm of Ward, Prime and King and prospered greatly. Four of his six children and certain of their descendants are related to the subject of this inquiry, as follows:

1. Samuel Ward, Jr., the eldest son, became a man of wide celebrity as scholar, traveler, politician and entrepreneur. He was the close friend of an army of all kinds of people both in America and in Europe, ranging from the Prince of Wales (afterwards Edward VII) to the humblest of working men, and was affectionately known as "Uncle Sam."

2. Julia Ward, the eldest daughter, became the wife of Dr. Samuel G. Howe of Boston; famous in many fields, civic, literary and social, she was perhaps best known as the author of "The Battle Hymn of the Republic." Her daughter, Maud Howe, married John Elliott, an English portrait painter of considerable repute, and was the author of *Uncle Sam Ward and His Circle*, to which reference will shortly be made.

3. Louisa Ward, another daughter, married in the late eighteen-forties Thomas Crawford—the celebrated sculptor, who did the figure of Liberty on the dome of the Capitol in Washington, the bronze doors of the Senate Wing and much of the sculpture on the Washington Monument in Richmond—and thereafter lived all her life in Rome. After Crawford's death, she married in 1861 Luther Terry, an American painter living in Rome. One of her Crawford daughters, Mary, married Hugh Fraser, a British diplomat, and has left valuable material on the Ward, Mailliard and Bonaparte families in her book *A Diplomatist's Wife in Many Lands*. Another daughter, Margaret Terry, married her cousin, Winthrop Chanler, a grandson of "Uncle Sam" Ward, and has left equally informative reminiscences in her book *Roman Spring*.

4. Annie Ward, the youngest daughter, who married Adolph

Mailliard, left no memoirs or any material of import to this inquiry. After her marriage, she and her husband lived in Bordentown until their permanent removal to California in 1867. Our painting of Joseph Bonaparte's house hung in the Mailliard house in Bordentown, which was situated in the park surrounding Joseph's palace. It accompanied the Mailliards on their trip around the Horn, and thereafter hung successively in their house in San Rafael, their ranch in San Geronimo, the San Francisco house of John Ward Mailliard (son of Adolph and Annie), and finally in the house in San Francisco of John's son, J. W. Mailliard, Jr., whose widow has presented it to the New Jersey Historical Society.[1]

Although the marriage of Annie Ward to Adolph Mailliard was at first strongly opposed by her brothers, her brother-in-law Dr. Howe, and her uncle and guardian John Ward, they finally consented,[2] and during the rest of his life "Uncle Sam" was the devoted friend and frequent companion of Adolph. The objection to the marriage may have been due to a situation in Adolph's background, in no way reflecting upon his character, of which we shall presently take notice.

The Mailliards

In *Three Saints and a Sinner,* a brilliant biographical study of the three Ward sisters and of their brother, "Uncle Sam", Mrs. Louise Hall Tharp throws much light on the origin and history of the Mailliards. Describing some of Uncle Sam's early adventures in Europe, she says:

> Sam Ward proceeded on his roundabout journey home and while traveling through Stuttgart he saw the 'Royal Review of the Household Troops.' Jerome Bonaparte, who had married the king's sister, galloped up and down in the uniform of a 'Württemberg warrior', Sam said. 'It was my first sight of a live Bonaparte. Later, I met in London and America his charming brother Joseph, ex-king of Spain.' Sam also met Louis Mailliard, a son of His ex-Majesty's by a lady other than his wife. Louis Mailliard

[1]Letter from Mrs. Mailliard, dated February 9, 1958, to Robert M. Lunny, in the files of the New Jersey Historical Society.

[2]Maud Howe Elliott, *Uncle Sam Ward and His Circle* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938), p. 394; Louise Hall Tharp, *Three Saints and a Sinner* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1956), p. 135.

was King Joseph's private secretary, the father and son relationship being no secret and considered no disgrace. Monsieur Louis Mailliard had been very properly married to Marguerite Redet, the daughter of one of Napoleon's equerries, and their son Adolph was also in London. Sam Ward did not know, or had forgotten, that his mother had once met the ex-king of Spain and had been entertained at dinner at King Joseph's fabulous palace in Bordentown, New Jersey. The next time Sam met Adolph Mailliard, it would be in New York and in Bordentown. But not even the imaginative Sam could have foretold at this time that Adolph would become a candidate for membership in the Ward family![3]

Mrs. Tharp's statement as to Louis Mailliard's paternity is not supported by reference to any evidence, documentary or otherwise. It is however, corroborated by like statements by two members of the Ward family who were in a position to know the facts. Mrs. Chanler, daughter of Louisa and niece of Annie Ward who had married Adolph Mailliard, writes:

Adolphe Mailliard's father was the illegitimate but acknowledged son of one of Napoleon's brothers, and Adolphe, tall, handsome, and accomplished, had been brought up in the imperial family. When King Joseph lived in exile at Bordentown he had been with him as part of his household.[4]

Mrs. Chanler was intimate with her Mailliard relations, and with her mother spent eight months in 1879 and 1880 with the Adolph Mailliards at their ranch in California. In the light of this affectionate intimacy, it seems hardly possible that Mrs. Chanler could have published the quoted statement unless it were accepted as fact in both the Mailliard and Ward families.

Likewise, Mrs. Hugh Fraser, a half sister of Mrs. Chanler and also a niece of Mrs. Adolph Mailliard, writes, describing her first visit to America:

The happiest times we had in America were those we spent at Bordentown. My mother's youngest sister, Annie, had married Adolphe Mailliard, a handsome and charming despot who at once captured my affections and made me the most willing of his subjects. He was a grandson of Joseph Bonaparte, erstwhile King of Spain, and, in spite of his bar sinister, was a much more typical Bonaparte than his easy-going grandsire, or any of his contemporaries among the acknowledged scions of the house. He was

[3]Tharp, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

[4]Mrs. Winthrop Chanler, *Roman Spring* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1934), p. 106.

born with the conviction that it was for him to rule, for all around him to obey; and he had such a quietly portentous way of signifying his pleasure that it would have required more than ordinary courage to oppose him. Very quietly and firmly he decided that while we were in America our home should be with him and my aunt, between whom and my mother there existed one of those ideal affections for which there seems to be no time in these later, more hurried days. To each other they were 'Beata,' and 'Benedetta,' and if ever the French expression 'deux corps et une ame,' described truthfully the relations of two human beings, it did so for theirs. They had been the youngest of the seven children left motherless when my Aunt Annie was born, and they had had only each other to confide in and seek comfort from during long years of neglected childhood.[5]

On a later page, referring to Louis Mailliard, the father of Uncle Adolph, Mrs. Fraser writes:

. . . my vivid imagination decided that my old gentleman was some great and unfortunate person who chose to be known by the unassuming name of Monsieur Mailliard.

Yet that was the only name he had a right to bear, being the illegitimate but much loved son of the brother whom Napoleon had set, first on the throne of Naples, and then on that of Spain.[6]

It is clear from the quoted passages that Mrs. Fraser, like Mrs. Chanler, was on intimate and affectionate terms with the Mailliard family, and her statements as to Louis Mailliard's paternity must be accepted as authentic fact.

In addition to the unequivocal statements cited, other circumstances tend to confirm the fact. All of the male members of the Ward family objected to Annie's marriage to Adolph Mailliard. The records cited state no grounds for the objections, and as nothing indicates any defect in Mailliard's character or behavior, it is a reasonable inference that the objections rested on the illegitimate birth of his father. In spite of this, the whole family became reconciled to the marriage and were on intimate and affectionate terms not only with the Adolph Mailliards, but with old Louis himself, Annie's father-in-law. It is intriguing to note that the cited records, by no means reserved, give no indication of the identity of the "lady other than his wife" referred to by

[5]Mrs. Hugh Fraser, *A Diplomatist's Wife in Many Lands* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1910), p. 96.

[6]*Ibid.*, p. 102.

Mrs. Tharp as Adolph's mother. There is not a scrap of information to permit even speculation on this point, which may, possibly, have had something to do with the original objections of the Ward family to the marriage.

Other circumstances pointing towards a relationship between King Joseph and Louis far closer than that of employer and secretary, the character in which the latter was generally presented to the king's acquaintances, are found in the lifelong companionship of the two men and in the treatment accorded to Louis in King Joseph's will, of which Louis was named executor and trustee, and which provided for him liberal pecuniary benefits, as well as an estate for life in the palace at Bordentown. E. M. Woodward, who wrote a history of Point Breeze in the 1870's, may be quoted in this connection:

> King Joseph, in his last will, begins with these words: 'I here declare that no man has more right to my confidence and esteem than Mr. Louis Mailliard;' and, after giving him many instructions about his papers and mortal remains, appointed him, with Judge Joseph Hopkinson, his testamentary executor. The Judge died, full of years and full of honors, before the testator. This left Mr. Mailliard as sole surviving executor. The trust was performed by him with the greatest care and fidelity.
>
> Louis Mailliard, at the early age of fourteen, was taken by King Joseph, to Spain, followed him in all his campaigns and visits to France, and finally accompanied him in his exile.[7]

The Painting

In the light of the foregoing direct statements, supplemented by the circumstances noted, the conclusion seems inevitable that Louis Mailliard was the son of Joseph Bonaparte, that he lived for many years at Point Breeze, and doubtless he or his son Adolph acquired the painting of the house during their long residence in it or in "Spring Villa", the old house in the surrounding park which Adolph, on his marriage, had bought and enlarged.[8] Possibly he bought the painting at a sale of some of the contents of the palace in 1847, when we know that he acquired

[7]E. M. Woodward, *Bonaparte's Park and the Murats* (Trenton, 1879, privately printed), p. 95.

[8]Tharp, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

some of its furnishings.[9] With all of the great associations that the palace held for the Mailliard family, it would have been natural that they should wish to own the painting. That they cherished it is evident from the fact that they took it with them on the long voyage around the Horn to California in 1867. The generosity of Mrs. J. W. Mailliard, Jr., has not only brought to the New Jersey Historical Society a beautiful and interesting addition to its collection, but has opened the way to a study of the life of the Bonaparte and Mailliard families in New Jersey, which it is hoped will add to the association, value and interest of the painting.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 139.

Quartering His Majesty's Forces In New Jersey

JOHN SHY

THERE is no doubt that Great Britain and the United States have shared a common military tradition which, like our political tradition, has stood somewhat apart from that of the rest of the world. Civilian control and unpreparedness appear to have been, at least before World War II, its most visible components. Today the uneasy suspicion is growing that only the English Channel and the Atlantic Ocean enabled us to afford the luxury of such a tradition. Unpreparedness is surely an historical relic; the President in his press conference expresses fear of a "garrison state"; proposals for complete unification of the services encounter Congressional opposition to a "Prussian" general staff. At such a time, when a part of our heritage is once again becoming immediately relevant, it is worth while to take a closer look at one aspect of its historical development.

Thomas Jefferson charged, and the Continental Congress agreed, that the reign of King George III before 1776 was "a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States." Among many other things, George was attacked for keeping a standing army in North America in peace time without the consent of the colonial legislatures, for attempting to render the military independent of and superior to the civil power, and for quartering large bodies of armed troops among the Americans.[1] The Revolutionary generation felt so strongly about this last point—the quartering of troops—that the third amendment of the Constitution reads:

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[1]The Declaration of Independence, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Julian P. Boyd (Princeton, 1950—), I, 424-425, 430-431.

No soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

A century and more earlier, Englishmen had fought for and won a similar safeguard of their liberties. The Petition of Right, forced on an unwilling Charles I in 1628, had condemned the King for compelling his subjects to receive soldiers into their homes. Then, in the Bill of Rights enacted after the overthrow of James II in 1688, Parliament charged their former king with "quartering soldiers contrary to law" and asserted that it was illegal to maintain a standing army within the kingdom in peace time without Parlimentary consent. It would appear that, as in so many other ways, in this the American revolutionaries had but claimed their rights as Englishmen.

The quartering of troops in the British Isles after 1688 was regulated by the annual Mutiny Acts.[2] Usually soldiers in England were stationed in permanent garrisons or camps. When they moved, or when barracks or tentage were insufficient, the law forbade quartering them on private citizens without consent, but directed magistrates to put them in public houses. Not only did the inn keepers feel perennially aggrieved at the small allowance paid them for this service, but the part of the law pertaining to private houses was not always scrupulously obeyed.[3] This was no problem in Ireland, because the subservience of the Irish Parliament insured that there was enough money to build barracks. In Scotland, however, where public houses normally had only a single room, the Mutiny Act provided for quartering in private houses.

Quartering never became a burning question in the colonies for the first century and a half of their existence because the British government, as a rule, did not maintain overseas garrisons. British military policy required colonies to defend themselves by means of militia. When regular troops were sent to North America, it was most often at the urgent request of the

[2]The legal complexities are discussed by Charles M. Clode, *The Military Forces of the Crown* (London, 1869), I, 217-219.

[3]For example, see the two petitions printed in *English Historical Documents 1714-1783*, edited by D. B. Horn and Mary Ransome (New York, 1957), 624-628.

particular colony itself, which in turn agreed to pay a share of the costs.[4] On the eve of the Seven Years War, the few regular troops on this side of the Atlantic were concentrated in Nova Scotia and the West Indies; the only British soldiers in the future United States were four sadly neglected companies in New York and three in South Carolina.

The New Policy

The last and decisive Anglo-French war for colonial supremacy brought a drastic change in military policy. The militia system had earlier shown its inability to cope with continental warfare, and so British regulars were dispatched to America in large numbers, beginning with the two ill-fated regiments sent with General Braddock. The few barracks in America obviously could not handle this influx; consequently, quartering became an issue. The situation was like that in Scotland, where public houses were few and small, but neither the ministry nor Parliament took any positive action to clarify matters. Instead, successive British Commanders in Chief assumed that the Mutiny Act extended to the colonies and that it covered whatever action they might be forced to take. In general, the American governments and people acquiesced, although at Albany in 1756 and 1757 Lord Loudoun used forceful measures to quarter his men pending completion of barracks there.[5] It has been said that, aside from the Albany affair, the quartering of British troops during the war never approached the popular conception of "redcoats forcing their way into private houses, and driving the owner and his family to the thin comforts of the attic," and that "it was really a legal contest" between the Commander in Chief and the provincial assemblies.[6] The experience of New Jersey, however, casts some doubt on at least the first part of this statement.

New Jersey was important to the British army, both during and

[4]For a vain request from New Jersey for British regulars to put down the land riots of the 1740's, see Gordon B. Turner, "Colonial New Jersey, 1703-1763," *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society*, LXX (1952), 242.

[5]The best discussion of quartering during the war is Stanley M. Pargellis, *Lord Loudoun in North America* (New Haven, 1933), 187-210.

[6]*Ibid.*, 187.

after the war, in providing winter and temporary quarters for troops in the New York area, and as the link between the northern and central theatres of operations. By early 1757 the New Jersey Assembly was being bombarded with petitions, complaining that because the colony was a thoroughfare for troop movements the inhabitants were troubled with quartering soldiers "night and day."[7] The Princeton petition is perhaps one of the more pathetic:[8]

> Although many of your Petitioners are poor, have small houses and numerous families, with not more than one room, they have yet been obliged to entertain sometimes ten, twelve, or fifteen Soldiers for a night. . . . during the two winters last past, they have been obliged to quarter in their houses, some two, some three, others four of his majesty's troops, . . .

Princeton's plea was for reimbursement of its extraordinary expenses, a plea the Assembly had made a practice of granting in the past.[9] In April, 1758, the Assembly voted £1400 each to Perth Amboy, Trenton, Burlington, New Brunswick, and Elizabeth for the construction of five 300-men barracks. New York, Pennsylvania, and South Carolina were taking similar action at about the same time. Although the New Jersey Assembly appropriated additional funds in late summer, the work went on slowly, and only two buildings were partially completed by December. The next year, General Amherst remarked that New Jersey and Connecticut were especially bad about quartering troops.[10] Soon matters must have begun to go more smoothly, for there are no more complaints on either side about quartering during the war.

New Jersey did have troubles, however, in the concluding years of the war. In the final campaign of 1759 and 1760 against Canada, the colony undoubtedly did its share in raising provincial

[7]Edwin R. Walker, *et. al., A History of Trenton* (Princeton, 1929), I, 299-300.

[8]Printed in John F. Hageman, *History of Princeton and its Institutions* (2nd ed., Philadelphia, 1879), I, 63-64.

[9]Pargellis, *Loudoun,* 205.

[10]Edgar J. Fisher, *New Jersey as a Royal Province* 1738 *to* 1776 (New York, 1911), 347; Donald L. Kemmerer, *Path to Freedom, the Struggle for Self-Government in Colonial New Jersey* 1703-1776 (Princeton, 1940), 253n.; Pargellis, *Loudoun,* 200-203. Fisher has the best account of the quartering problem in New Jersey.

forces.[11] But from 1761 to 1764, when the British and colonial troops fought first two campaigns in the West Indies, then two against the great Indian uprising, New Jersey's military effort steadily weakened. Perhaps the colony was war weary, as it might well have been, for it had lost most of one regiment in 1756 and 1757, and the return of the conquerors of Cuba to New York port in 1762 certainly could not have stimulated martial ardor. Wrote John Watts, New York merchant:[12]

> Never did I see such a Spectable, One Ship took on board at the Havanna One hundred & ten Royal Highlanders & in Sixteen days landed here hardly alive thirty odd, the rest I beleive did not suffer quite so much.

The basic difficulty seems to have been more mundane. New Jersey had financed its war effort largely on bills of credit, as had a number of other colonies. Colonial paper money had been a target of the Board of Trade before the war, and, by 1761, it once again was under fire. The new governor, Josiah Hardy, received orders not to approve any act emitting bills of credit unless it contained a clause suspending its effect until finally approved in London. It was obvious, moreover, that the Board planned to veto such acts.[13] The issue became clear-cut in late 1763 when William Franklin, Hardy's successor, bluntly told the Commander in Chief that the money needed to raise New Jersey's quota of men for the 1764 expedition against the Indians could be had only through bills of credit. A suspending clause would obviously prevent timely action, but Franklin claimed to be ready to violate his instructions, opening himself to the loss of his commission, if the Commander in Chief would but give his "candid Opinion & Advice."[14] This letter expressed an offer—military support in

[11]Lawrence H. Gipson, *The Great War for the Empire. The Victorious Years 1758-1760 (The British Empire before the American Revolution,* VII, New York, 1949), 308, 446.

[12]To Col. Barre, New York, 21 September 1762, *Letter Book of John Watts,* edited by Dorothy C. Barck (New York Historical Society *Collections,* LXI, 1928), 84.

[13]*Archives of the State of New Jersey,* 1st series, IX, 274-275.

[14]To General Amherst, 14 November 1763, Amherst MSS., VII, William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan. Thomas Gage, Amherst's successor, rather equivocally advised Franklin to sign the bill, 23 November 1763, Gage MSS., Clements Library. Franklin signed it. *New Jersey Archives,* 1st series, IX, 401.

return for paper money—which was to be made again by New Jersey in the decade before the American Revolution.

In the spring of 1763, after the Treaty of Paris had increased British North America from a thin strip along the Atlantic coast to all of the continent east of the Mississippi, Parliament agreed to the ministry's decision to keep an army in the colonies. Fifteen battalions, 7,500 men at full peace-time strength, were to be stationed on the continent. Seventy-five hundred men (more like 6,000 it would be in reality) seemed few enough to perform the missions assigned this army: oversee the fur trade, keep frontiersmen and Indians from one another's lands and throats, police the Newfoundland fishing settlements, help govern 80,000 Frenchmen in the St. Lawrence valley, provide a backbone for the settlement of the Floridas, be prepared to resist any future French or Spanish attack, and assist the customs collectors when required. Clearly customs collection could not stand high on the priority list, and almost all of the army was initially scattered through the back-country, from Canada to Florida, in order to perform its other tasks. But those few soldiers that remained in the seaboard areas—several companies in New York, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey, either maintaining the supply lines to the Great Lakes and the Ohio Valley or in transit—became a problem to General Thomas Gage, the Commander in Chief. During the war, when the military had demanded shelter for their troops, the Colonies had reluctantly built barracks and enacted quartering laws, but the fighting ended in 1764. As Gage put it in a letter to the Secretary of State,[15]

> Difficultys in Carrying on the Service in North America, increase very fast. It is declared generaly, that the Mutiny Act does not extend to America. . . . the People . . . begin to be Sensible, that they are not obliged to do, what they submitted to, in Times of Danger.

The Grenville ministry decided in March, 1765, to bring in a bill extending to America those provisions of the Mutiny Act which pertained to the hiring of horses and wagons, and to

[15]To the Earl of Halifax, New York, 23 January 1765, *The Correspondence of Thomas Gage,* edited by Clarence E. Carter (New Haven, 1931-1933), I, 49.

quartering. Gage, after noting that recently some officers had been jailed and co-operative magistrates threatened with prosecution for attempting to quarter troops, sought legal confirmation of war-time practice whereby, upon military requisition, local officials put soldiers in available barracks or, when necessary, in private houses.[16] That this practice was even then accepted in New Jersey is demonstrated by the march of six companies of the Royal American Regiment from Lancaster, Pennsylvania, across the colony to New York City, in the spring of 1765.[17] But by June the rumor was current in the Colonies that Parliament would act, and American opinion on the subject can be gauged by the sarcastic words of a member of the New York Council—a man who was then an army contractor and would later become a Tory—written to a business associate in England:[18]

> If Administration, as you call it, put the Troops by Act of Parliament into Private Houses, it will be extremely kind & Constitutional in the Bargain, they intend it wou'd seem, that the Colonys sho'd either love or fear them, one of the two, but not both surely.

It may have been coincidence that in June the New Jersey Assembly decided to rent the colony's barracks and to sell their furnishings, but one can also speculate that the battle line was being drawn.[19]

The Quartering Act

Grenville and his colleagues knew full well that they were treading dangerous ground. When two M.P.'s, Charles Garth, agent for South Carolina, and Thomas Pownall, former governor of both Massachusetts and New Jersey, lobbied against Gage's recommendations and proposed an arrangement allegedly more satisfactory to the Americans, Grenville was ready to listen. The result was what historians have dubbed the Quartering Act of 1765: no permission was given to quarter in either public or private houses; instead, magistrates were to put soldiers into bar-

[16]Halifax to Gage, St. James, 9 March 1765, and Gage to Secretary at War Welbore Ellis, New York, 23 January 1765, *Gage Correspondence,* II, 24, 262-266.

[17]Gage to Franklin, New York, 24 April 1765, and reply, 29 April 1765, Gage MSS.

[18]John Watts to Moses Franks, New York, 1 June 1765, *Watts Letter Book,* 354.

[19]*New Jersey Archives,* 1st series, XVII, 408.

racks, barns, or outbuildings hired for the purpose, and to furnish them bedding, cooking utensils, vinegar, salt, fire wood, candles, and "small beer, cider, or rum." It was stated that the expenses were to be met as other public expenses of the respective colonies were met. In short, local justices of the peace, who in the past had put soldiers into private houses when nothing else had been available, now dared do nothing until the provincial government had taken positive action. Even as amended, Grenville worried more about the American reaction to the Quartering Act than he did about another piece of legislation intended to support the British Army in America and passed at about the same time—the Stamp Act.[20]

As is well known, George Grenville had misjudged the situation. After the fall of his ministry for reasons unconnected with colonial policy, violent resistance forced the successor Rockingham government to repeal the Stamp Act. The riots in New York and Boston led General Gage to move troops toward the seaboard, and for the next ten years the enforcement of acts of Parliament and the repression of civil disorder took a high place on the list of Army missions. The Army never actually performed this task largely because, by British law, action depended on the formal request of civil authorities, and colonial officials, whether through fear or conviction, were unwilling to call on the military for support. But this apparent need to police the older colonies was a major factor in determining troop locations after 1765.

The New Jersey Assembly refused to pass a law which conformed to the terms of the Quartering Act. It argued that it was "as much an Act for laying Taxes on the Inhabitants as the Stamp Act; and that it was more partial, as the Troops were kept in a few of the Colonies, whereby others were exempted . . . ."[21] But when General Gage informed Governor Franklin in May, 1766, that 140 recruits had arrived unexpectedly from Europe and

[20]The politics of the Quartering Act can be gleaned from Lewis B. Namier, *England in the Age of the American Revolution* (London, 1930), 294-295; Allen S. Johnson, "The Political Career of George Grenville, 1712-1770" (Unpublished dissertation, Duke University, 1955), 224; *The Jenkinson Papers* 1760-1766, edited by Ninetta S. Jucker (London, 1949), 358-360; *Connecticut Historical Society Collections,* XVIII (1920), 343-344.

[21]Franklin to the Earl of Shelburne, Burlington, 16 December 1766, *New Jersey Archives,* 1st series, IX, 577.

that he would have to quarter them in Elizabeth, Franklin promised to co-operate, and urged Peartree Smith, the mayor of Elizabeth, to do whatever was necessary. It appears that the barrack commissioner there even advanced his own money before the Assembly voted the necessary funds.[22] One wonders if some local officials were aware that the law had changed, for James Parker of Perth Amboy asked Gage for a short delay in moving soldiers into town while the barracks were refitted, concluding that "it would be next to Impossible to provide for that number in private quarters."[23] Moreover, Franklin assured Gage that the troops "will find the People well dispos'd towards them."[24] The following year, when the 26th Regiment arrived in New Jersey from Ireland, Gage expressed pleasure to his quarter master that the men were so well quartered, but chided the officers at the Perth Amboy barracks for trying to take over an excessive number of rooms, and remarked that it was no wonder New Jersey had withheld their quarters allowance.[25] Although the Assembly never enacted a law which met the letter of the Quartering Act of 1765, neither did it follow the line taken by New York and refuse to quarter adequately the regiment almost always stationed within its borders. It may be that simply the political skill of Governor William Franklin explains this; it also may be that the abstract principle was thought to be of greater importance than the money involved.[26]

The course of civil-military relations was not so smooth outside of New Jersey, and events were shaping themselves toward the climax of 1775. When the Bostonians ran the customs commissioners out of town in 1768, Gage moved troops to Boston, where they had not been seen since the war. Massachusetts flatly refused to do anything about housing them. The ministry, probably taking account of the sort of opposition expressed to the Act of 1765 by less militant governments like New Jersey, amended the law

[22]The various letters of Gage and Franklin, 28 May and 6 June 1766, are in Gage MSS. See also Fisher, *New Jersey*, 432-433, and Kemmerer, *Path to Freedom*, 298.

[23]Parker to Gage, Perth Amboy, 25 August 1766, Gage MSS.

[24]Franklin to Gage, Burlington, 25 August 1766, Gage MSS.

[25]Gage to Col. St. Clair, New York, 15 July 1767, Gage MSS.

[26]Gage wrote to the Secretary of State, 16 December 1769, that not only had New Jersey made its usual provision for quartering, but that it had voted an additional sum for repairs and past deficiencies. *Gage Correspondence*, I, 243.

so as to suspend its operation wherever a satisfactory provincial quartering act was in effect. On the face of it, this measure should have ended what little conflict existed over quartering in New Jersey. This, however, did not prove to be the case.

The Mild Struggle

When Franklin summoned the Assembly to meet in the fall of 1769, he expressed fear that their mood boded ill for the King's business. Not only had the Board of Trade refused in the previous winter to approve the issuance of £100,000 in bills of credit, considered essential to the economy of the province by the legislators, but the public assertion of South Carolina that the expenses of quartering the British Army should be paid from the Townshend Acts revenue seemed to have "an ill Effect on the Minds of the Assembly of New Jersey."[27] Although Franklin persuaded the Assembly to vote the required funds in 1769 and, after a sharp struggle, in 1770, the Assembly balked in 1771. Bluntly alluding to the Crown's refusal to permit bills of credit or a loan office in the colony, the Assembly resolved:[28] "That the Colony is *not* of *Ability* to make *any further Provision* for the Supply of His Majesty's Troops stationed in this Colony." The Secretary of State informed General Gage that there were only two alternatives: to deal with New Jersey by act of Parliament, or to remove troops from the province. He suggested the latter if it could be done without loss of face, so Gage found an excuse to withdraw all troops from New Jersey in the fall of 1771.[29]

In that same year, some of the citizens of the province awoke to the political and moral menace posed by a standing army. The freeholders of Hunterdon County asked their representatives in the Assembly whether the presence of British troops was useful, constitutional, safe, and would not "spread Vice and Immorality in a Country where they are maintained in idleness."[30] The presence of redcoats in the colony for fifteen years without previous

[27]Franklin to the Earl of Hillsborough, Burlington, 27 September 1769, *New Jersey Archives*, 1st series, X, 130-131.

[28]*New Jersey Archives*, 1st series, X, 243.

[29]Hillsborough to Gage, St. James, 19 July 1771, and reply, 6 November 1771, *Gage Correspondence*, I, 135, and II, 312.

[30]*New Jersey Archives*, 1st series, X, 269-273.

objection on grounds of principle, together with the considerable success enjoyed by Gage's recruiting officers in enlisting New Jersey men for British regiments in the spring of 1771, suggests that the Hunterdon County freeholders were thinking in abstract rather than concrete terms.[31] This is borne out by other evidence, for it appears that there was almost no actual friction between the troops and the civilians. It is true that in 1766 one Justice Bowers of Morris County had raised a posse and beaten up a recruiting party enlisting soldiers in his bailiwick, and that in the summer of the following year, several officers of the 28th Regiment conducted a riot at Elizabeth on the night before the embarkation of their unit for Ireland. The *New York Mercury* described the latter affair: "as the inhabitants had used them so very ungenteely as to make them pay their debts . . . the officers seemed determined upon revenge." Windows were broken at the jail, the alarm was rung, blows were struck, and some one fired a load of bird shot into the legs of one of the officers. When the magistrates went to Perth Amboy for help, the officers fled to their waiting transports, but Colonel St. Clair, Gage's Quartermaster General, ordered them to disembark, appear before the Elizabeth court, apologize, and pay £25 damages. The *Mercury* concluded:

> It is a pity, that men, who call themselves men of honour, should leave a place with such an odious name behind them. The other part of the regiment who were quartered at Amboy . . . to their honour be it said . . . during their continuance there . . . have in general behaved with honour and integrity.

Gage had moved the 28th from Montreal to New Jersey because it had been so troublesome in Canada, and he must have breathed easier when it finally departed his command. These, however, are the only such incidents I have found in the records.[32]

[31]Gage was recruiting as a result of the Anglo-Spanish war scare over the Falkland Islands crisis. The success of recruiting parties in most of the colonies so soon after the Boston "Massacre" is truly surprising. Gage to Hillsborough, New York, 2 April and 7 May 1771, and to Secretary at War Barrington, 4 June 1771 (Private), *Gage Correspondence,* I, 294, 298, and II, 579.

[32]Gage to Franklin, New York, 3 July 1766, Gage MSS.; *New Jersey Archives,* 1st series, XXV, 432-435.

One factor in explaining this situation was General Gage himself. A cautious and sensible officer, he never displayed outstanding ability in combat, but was the perfect man to command a peace-time army. He was dead set against the practice of issuing quantities of rum to the soldiers, and seems to have been able to enforce his policy.[33] Moreover, he insisted that officers keep their men under strict control; this, as much as anything, postponed the Boston "Massacre" for eighteen months after the arrival of redcoats in that town. In fact, the 29th Regiment, principal target of Bostonian hatred and the one whose men were involved on the night of March 5, 1770, moved to New Jersey after the "Massacre." When Gage inspected this unit there, he wrote:[34]

> I had the pleasure of Seeing a fine Regiment, in very good Order and Discipline. . . . I had the greatest Reason to be satisfied with every part of their Behaviour.

This may have been a prejudiced observation, but the depositions which soldiers of the 29th made before New Jersey justices concerning incidents leading up to the "Massacre" make it clear that the Bostonians understood and exploited the helpless position of soldiers before the law.[35] There were no complaints about the behaviour of the men of the 29th in their new home. When they departed in 1771, after the Assembly's refusal to vote money for the barracks, the mayor of Perth Amboy and the corporation of New Brunswick publicly thanked them for their good conduct. The 26th Regiment, stationed in New Brunswick for thirty-four months, had also received a warm letter of praise and gratitude upon its departure the previous year. After all redcoats were gone from the province, Gage heard from Franklin that "one half of New Jersey is now complaining that they have no Troops."[36] This is not to imply that any eighteenth-century army

[33]Gage to Maj. Gen. Haldimand, New York, 8 May 1767, Gage MSS. The rum allowance mentioned in the Quartering Act of 1765 was very small, diluted, and issued only when beer or cider were unavailable.

[34]Gage to Barrington, New York, 8 September 1770, *Gage Correspondence,* II, 556.

[35]These depositions are in the British Public Record Office, Colonial Office 5/88, Library of Congress microfilm.

[36]*New Jersey Archives,* 1st series, XXVII, 161-162, 640-643. Gage to Hillsborough, New York, 5 February 1772, *Gage Correspondence,* I, 316.

could be a model of decorum, but the New Jersey experience does suggest that civil-military relations in Massachusetts were not typical of the whole British army in America.

The Assembly relented a bit in late 1771 when it voted the arrears due General Gage for quartering expenses. Then, in an emergency in 1772, Gage was allowed to quarter a battalion in New Jersey pending its embarkation to help put down a native uprising in the West Indies. The following summer, the 47th Regiment moved into barracks at Perth Amboy, Elizabeth, and New Brunswick. A year later, after the Boston Tea Party, the Coercive Acts, and the appointment of Gage as governor of Massachusetts, the 47th moved northward in the general concentration on Boston.[37] In 1773, however, the Assembly had threatened to withhold funds for the barracks unless Franklin dismissed the provincial treasurer, who eased matters by resigning. It is interesting to note that, in 1774, the Assembly passed a paper money act which finally won royal approval; perhaps some unrecorded bargain had been struck between New Jersey and the Crown.[38]

The story of the British army in New Jersey before 1775 leads to the conclusion that there was surprisingly little real military oppression. The struggle, mild as it was, took place at the political rather than the popular level. One cannot escape the impression that events elsewhere and not within the province were decisive in the development of a Revolutionary situation in New Jersey, and that quartering a standing army provided, not a basic grievance, but a convenient weapon, in the fight for self-government.

[37]*New Jersey Archives,* 1st series, X, 321-323, 378-379, XXVIII, 584-585, and XXIX, 454.

[38]Fisher, *New Jersey,* 440, 300-301. A good, brief account of the other issues which agitated New Jersey in this era is David L. Cowen, "Revolutionary New Jersey, 1763-1787," *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society,* LXXI (1953), 1-23.

The Rock-a-bye Baby: Birth and Early Years

THOMAS T. TABER III

(Concluded from the January issue)

It was not until May 3, 1889, that Pidcock incorporated the Rockaway Valley Extension Railroad Company. This second company was to continue the line from New Germantown to Pottersville, and $70,000 of stock was issued to finance the extension. Hopes were high that a third company would be formed before summer was over, and the line built to Peapack. The incorporators and first directors of the new line were for the most part the same as those of the old, although a new man, Robert Craig, invested heavily. Again Pidcock and Sutton bought much of the stock.

The new line followed the same construction pattern as the line to New Germantown. The country was flat, and except for a few small trestles the track required only a crude roadbed of minimum cost. From Sutton to Pottersville the track followed the Lamington River.

Considering that the new line was started at about the same time of year as the old, and was of the same length and of similar construction, it is not surprising that it required the same length of time to build. The Hunterdon *Republican* noted that the railroad had reached Pottersville in its September 18th issue, but it was not until about November 1st, a month and a half after this arrival had been reported, that the line to Pottersville was turned over to the railroad by the contractor, J. P. Brothers, and operations started.

As the result of a small peach crop, business for the first twelve months of the railroad's operation was not as large as was hoped for, though the press release to the Morristown *Jerseyman* of October 11, 1889, would indicate differently:

The Rockaway Valley Railroad has completed the first year of its existence, and the amount of business done has exceeded the expectation of

its most sanguine friends. The number of passengers carried during the year was 20,237. Although the peach crop was not as large as formerly, the road carried 80,000 baskets. It is expected that the road will be extended from Pottersville to Peapack.

The passenger figure is probably somewhat exaggerated, for in a later fifteen-month period, with a longer line, fewer people were carried. The figure given averages sixty a day excluding Sundays, when no trains were run.

Pottersville to Peapack

The wheels of progress turned more rapidly to incorporate the Rockaway Valley Peapack Extension Railroad on October 12, 1889, for the purpose of building a three-mile line from Pottersville to Peapack. Again, Pidcock and Sutton were the biggest investors in the $70,000 of stock that was issued, and Brothers was again given the contract for extending the line.

The rapid acquiring of funds for the extension was a hopeful sign. Brothers was again given the contract for extending the line.

The Peapack extension gave the first track-laying problems. The three miles between Pottersville and Peapack included a formidable hill, which had to be surmounted. To keep grades to what Melick considered reasonable—3½% to 4%—the line was built *L*-shaped between the two towns. A 2% to 3½% grade was used for the first mile and a half out of Pottersville. The road then ran fairly level for a mile and dropped down a one-half-mile 4% grade to Peapack, where it stopped short of a ravine which was to require a large trestle and fill. Although the grades had been severe, Melick had found a route that required no sizable cuts or fills, so that once again costs were kept down.

The grades on the new extension were not a serious deterrent to the road. Most of the peaches were shipped down the line to White House from New Germantown and Pottersville, so that only when there were several cars of coal and a good deal of other freight was the train hard pressed on the grade. The subsequent operation of two trains daily to Morristown allowed the splitting up of tonnage, so that it was rarely necessary to take a train over the hill in two sections.

At Peapack the railroad was located west of the Gladstone station of the Lackawanna Railroad as seen today, which is in turn a mile west of the Lackawanna's Peapack station. It actually missed the Peapack community completely, because the track was almost half a mile west of the present Gladstone station. By December the road bed had been graded to Peapack and track laying was in progress.

At this time doubts were expressed as to whether the Jersey Central Railroad or some other large line or syndicate was secretly doing the financing and backing the line. The Morristown *Jerseyman* suggested editorially in the November 11, 1889, issue that the Jersey Central was actually backing the line, but this brought a quick comeback from the railroad in the December 8th issue:

In a late editorial of yours we notice you credit the Central R.R. as pushing on your way . . . . To correct that idea we would say that the Rockaway Valley Railroad Company was organized with local money by J. E. Melick of Springfield, Illinois. Hon. J. N. Pidcock and W. W. Sutton being the largest subscribers with himself, and with no assistance materially from any railroad company, have pushed it to Pottersville and will have built to Peapack by Christmas. The idea of Mr. Melick (the Engineer) being that, if the people join hands and all help, they can do anything, and as subscriptions are taken in ties, work and labor as well as money, all are given a chance to help, and at the meeting held in Mendham on Wednesday this week the subscription list was started to build the extension of the road from Peapack to Morristown via that place, the work to commence when one hundred thousand dollars shall have been subscribed.

The grading to Peapack is finished to the point from whence it will start to Morristown in the Spring. Track laying is in progress and we shall have trains running by Christmas. The engineer will soon give his personal attention to the matter of subscriptions, and will not stop till he has reached his mark. Business men of all kinds should hail this new road with open arms of delight, for there are now one hundred passengers a day going to Somerville and other towns that long to come to Morristown to try the stores of that city, and probably banks too, for they are having big peach crops up this way and have lots of money, and with the chance to get away from home by rail they see a chance to find what they are needing in order to live the way folks do who have a railroad. Morristown people, if you want to see the residents of Hunterdon and Somerset Counties in your banks, stores and business places, lend your good will, friendly words and some cash to the Rockaway Valley Railroad.

Such an eloquent and stirring call for assistance marked neither the first nor the last time that the railroad would give news releases to the papers. Most were apparently written by Melick, who, aside from being an engineer, was a first class advertising and public relations manager. Never did he let any new feature, improvement of service, or description of scenic beauties along the line go unnoticed.

Looking Ahead

The onward-marching track had started to stir interest in Mendham and Morristown, and meetings were held to bring the railroad to those places. The Morristown *Jerseyman* was enthusiastic about the prospect that the "100 people a day who now shop in Somerville would shop in Morristown", and it did not think much of the runaround the Lackawanna had been giving the people of Mendham. An article entitled "The Mendham Road, How the people of that Village were trifled with by the D., L. & W." — published in the issue of December 13, 1889, under "Notes from Our Correspondents" — pointed out what the Rockaway Valley would do after the Lackawanna had done so little:

> Since the people of Mendham Township have cancelled the paper that bound various citizens and property owners to give money and rights of way to the Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad to aid in the construction of a branch road from Morristown to Mendham, there has been much comment on the attitude of the D. L. & W. officials with regard to this branch. The officials of the railway say that the Mendham people were told in the beginning, and all the time, that the Railroad Company would undertake to build the branch to Mendham so soon as the right of way on the whole line to the tracks of the railroad was given outright. The Mendham people agree that such was the demand. The committee acting for the township learned very shortly that while rights of way through property adjacent to Morristown could be obtained for merely nominal sums for any other railroad than the D. L. & W., that from that road the very last pound of flesh would be exacted. The D. L. & W. officers were informed of this and told that the people of Mendham could not do it— the task was way beyond them.
>
> "See Reasoner," said the wily Sam Sloan, "He knows all about it." And Reasoner was seen. He encouraged the Committee to do what they could.

"Get", said he, "the right of way through Mendham Township, and $8,000 towards buying the rest, and you will see that it is all right."

With this assurance, not made only once, but repeated over and over again, the committee, composed of Dr. John S. Stiger, Mr. T. W. Phoenix and Francis Oliver went to work and did much more than was asked of them, as they got the right of way through Mendham Township, rights over many Morris Township farms and $12,500 in money. Meantime a corps of engineers was hard at work locating a line from Morristown to Mendham. They ran innumerable lines between the two points and from line to line took such frequent cross sections that they must have had data enough to locate an Eiffel tower upon any inch of ground between the termini of the survey. Indeed, had Mr. Reasoner put these able-bodied men at work, with picks, wheelbarrows, scrapers and shovels, no mean portion of the line could have been graded while they were making their "dude" survey. But they never meant to build the road. This tremendous survey was but a reconnoisance in force for strategic purposes.

About that time a young man who was born in the neighborhood of Mendham, but who had been engaged in railroad construction in the West, returned to his old home, and with his natural shrewdness, saw how easily a well-paying railroad could be built from Morristown by way of Mendham towards the Jersey Central system in Somerset County. As Morristown was the largest place on the proposed line, and the most to be benefited, Mr. Melick thought he would try to interest some of the people there in starting his enterprise. He accordingly called on Mr. Henry C. Pitney (now Vice-Chancellor) and arranged that a meeting of the leading men in Morristown should be called at Mr. Pitney's office. In telling about this meeting Mr. Melick's black eyes twinkle with fun. All the gas was turned on and arrangements were made for a crowd, but no one arrived but Mr. Melick and Mr. Pitney, and the business of the meeting consisted of a very earnest argument by Mr. Pitney against Mr. Melick's project. Mr. Melick has never decided in his own mind whether or not any one was really invited to meet him. Mr. Pitney's discourse, however, was all sufficient, and as the D. L. & W. had made the Mendham folks believe that they were soon to have a first-class road there was nothing for Mr. Melick to do but to start at the other end of his line and work this way. The readers of *The Jerseyman* are familiar with the work on the road from White House Station to New Germantown and Pottersville and Peapack. This much of the road has been built by the farmers themselves, and now that Mr. Melick has the road half way to Morristown he is negotiating with the Mendham people to assist with the remainder, and naturally he will come again to see what Morristown will do towards building another railroad which will double the natural trade area which is hers, and cheapen the coal she consumes to the extent of $25,000 per year.

It is very likely that this article was written by Melick, as it has colored the situation considerably.

Revenues for 1889 were still far from impressive, even though the line only operated to New Germantown. A gross of $6,155 was earned, but even at that the directors announced a profit during the last two months to the amount that bond interest could be paid when due the next July. During the lean winter months these profits were eaten up, and no bond interest was paid.

The year 1890 was to be a memorable one for the line. Construction continued, financial difficulties started, the peach crop was a total loss but other business improved.

The first occurrence of the year was the consolidation of the corporations into the Rockaway Valley Railroad Company on January 10th. The stock of the three former companies was exchanged for the new stock. A $200,000 bond issue was made to cancel and retire the earlier $60,000 issue, and also to pay Brothers for the work on the extensions. The officers of the new company were: J. N. Pidcock, President; W. W. Sutton, Vice President; J. H. Sayre, Secretary and Treasurer; J. E. V. Melick, Superintendent. The directors were J. N. Pidcock, White House; Jacob R. Fisher, Robert Craig, William W. Sutton, James H. Sayre, Peter W. Melick, Benjamin Van Doren, all of New Germantown; William Hilliard and William F. Melick, Gladstone; Alvah A. Clark, Somerville; L. H. Trimmer, Middle Valley; John Auble, Peapack, and John E. V. Melick, Springfield, Ill. Melick always kept Springfield, Illinois, as his legal residence from the time he worked there as a bill clerk.

January also saw the need for a second locomotive. The "Peter W.", as the locomotive "P. W. Melick" was affectionately called, required shopping occasionally, business was improving, and the construction trains required a second locomotive. Accordingly, the Baldwin Locomotive Company received an order for #3, 2-4-0, supposedly named "Rachel", for $6,420. In the past various Jersey Central engines had been used at a rental of $7.50 per day when the "Peter W." required a helper. As the rental cost was considered too high, the second locomotive was ordered and was received on September 17, 1890.

The line to Mendham was surveyed during January, even though no company had been formed and the railroad had not yet been completed to Peapack. Exactly when it reached Peapack is unknown, although it is believed to have been February 28th. The Morristown *Jerseyman* in its March 14th issue printed the remarks of Melick at a "recent" meeting in Mendham, when he pointed out how the Company stood on the extension to Morristown:

His company had expected to complete the road to Peapack by Christmas, but, owing to a delay in the shipment of their supplies, it had reached Peapack only a short time ago . . . .

When the road was completed to Morristown, it was thought at least 40,000 tons of coal would be carried [annually].

At an average profit of $1 per ton enough would be realized on the coal traffic alone to pay the interest on all bonds.

He stated as the object of the meeting, that, as it was considered impossible to extend the road at once from Peapack to Morristown, he thought the next best thing to do would be to extend it to Mendham, and therefore he had called a meeting for the consideration of this move.

Several arguments were given in favor of this plan.

One was that the citizens of Morristown would feel more like helping the road when it was completed to Mendham; and another, that if the road once reached Mendham, it would not stop there . . . .

The amount to be raised by the Mendham people from this purpose would be $12,000, first mortgage bonds being given for all amounts subscribed.

Over $12,000 in subscriptions have been raised by the Mendham Committee for pushing the road to Morristown. Of this amount $5,280 was turned over by subscribers present to the Peapack and Mendham extension.

The idea of $40,000-a-year earnings just from coal was very optimistic. During its entire operating life there were only a few years in which the road grossed that amount on all its business.

The formal opening of the railroad to Peapack took place April 19th and was enthusiastically described in the *Hunterdon County Democrat* in the April 29th issue:

On Saturday, 19th inst., the formal opening of the Peapack extension of the Rockaway Valley Railroad took place, and was an event of no little consequence to the residents of that vicinity . . . .

Grading and track-laying on the Peapack end began about the first of November last, and not withstanding the difficulties of bad weather and scarcity of help encountered, the work was pushed forward with remarkable vigor, and the first passenger train entered that lovely valley on Saturday morning at a little after 11 o'clock.

There can be no question of the value of this railroad in developing the resources of that section. The cultivation of peaches and the quarrying of lime, both of which have been a source of considerable revenue to the farmers there, will receive an impetus. Other mineral deposits have been discovered, such as cement rock and iron ore of the quality which is used in making Bessemer steel. The latter has been found on the farm of Jacob Auble, in paying quantities and already a company has leased the lands and will commence mining at once. Besides these, valuable quarries of building stone have been discovered, and will be opened. That section is also essentially a grazing country and a milk trade of considerable proportions could easily be developed.

The scenery about Pottersville and Peapack cannot be surpassed in beauty. At Pottersville there is a natural water-fall and glen and a beautiful lake. It is the purpose of the owner to make the glen a Summer resort, and improvements will shortly be commenced. Enough could be written of this valley to fill volumes.

The new line after reaching Peapack started to make itself felt, and wild rumors were circulated about how the High Bridge branch of the Jersey Central Railroad was losing business. This concern was so great as to prompt Trainmaster Briant to write to General Superintendent J. H. Olhausen a very excited letter:

"The Rockaway Valley Railroad is hurting the business of the High Bridge Branch at Chester and as soon as they are at Peapack and Mendham, they will take a great deal more from us. I am told that they carry freight at ridiculous figures, depending on the percentage they get from the CRR to make up for the loss and also sooner than not get freight, that they will give the shippers a little percentage. By the time they get to Mendham, they will have cut through our peach territory that Chester has drawn to us, and we will not get it. It seems to me that when the contract expires that we will pay them a percentage. If our Co. were to cut it off, it would be a good thing, their road is badly constructed and cannot last long, unless a great deal of money is spent on it, and so far, it is also built in the territory that

fed the Central. Mr. L. H. Pierson at Chester has been a strong friend to the CRR and a large coal dealer. He says that if the Rockaway Valley cuts him anymore, he will throw up the coal business."

This is one of the few times that the railroad was ever said to be charging the minimum. In later years its rates were as high as possible, and even that did not give the road enough money to break even. Briant was not the only one to echo the sentiment that the road was poorly built and would not last; these statements popped up for many years even when the railroad was young.

As it turned out there was no percentage paid on inbound freight and the road was not cutting prices or rates. What business the Rock-a-bye took away from the Central was business previously teamed to Chester from points now closer to the new road.

Melick, who was always ready to please and attract the passenger, acquired some choice picnic grounds near Pottersville at the Black River falls. The place was put in shape and well publicized in the years that followed. Special trains were occasionally run, especially at the start, and timetables advertised the railroad as the "Black River Falls Line."

The Sister Villages

The extension of the railroad beyond Peapack was of great concern to Mendhamites, who were doing considerable crying in the newspaper about not having a railroad and about the hard bargain the Lackawanna was trying to drive. A small Mendham item, appearing in the May 30, 1890 issue of the *Jerseyman,* touched off a series of jibes between the two villages:

> Just think of it! small Peapack soon to have two railroads, and Mendham, with a water supply, paint, iron and lead mines, and plenty of natural gas, without the sign of one.

That was all Peapack needed, and it proceeded to make a few choice comments in the June 27th issue of the paper:

Some two or three weeks ago your correspondent from proud and mighty Mendham was bewailing the fact that "little" Peapack had two railroads and Mendham had none. All the advice we have to give is to stop your infantile whimperings and bestir yourself. Peapack invested $10,000 in the Rockaway Valley R.R. and presto! the D. L. & W. Co. was in our midst begging for the privilege of laying a track through our valley. Take our word for it, there is no other way. Just go to work and pull the R.V.R.R. through to your place and the D. L. & W. will pay you for the privilege of doing the same. If you do not "little" Peapack will eclipse you as a summer resort, a place of business and in everything else.

Mendham quickly rebutted in the next week's issue:

Now, Mr. Peapack, we did not intend to "whimper," but we do regret that Mendham has no railroad. Anyone with common sense could easily see that Mendham is superior to Peapack in location, general arrangement, healthfulness, scenery, and many other ways, and the only reason we can see that she has no railroad is because of the disinclination of the moneyed men of the place to "pull it through."

Another thing, it is very certain that the Peapack and Delaware road was never extended to Peapack for the sake of the Peapack trade alone.

After trying to be nice to Mendham, the Peapack correspondent got tired of the Mendham writer's ridicule:

With the kindliest of intentions two weeks ago we offered some gratuitous advice to Mendham on the subject of railroads. Instead of thanking us for the same your correspondent is disposed, like a spoiled child, to resent what we had to say. With the lofty air of one whose bubble of self-conceit never before was pricked, he declares that "any one with common sense could easily see that Mendham is superior to Peapack in location, general arrangement, healthfulness, scenery, and in many other ways," and also "another thing, it is certain that the Passaic & Delaware road was never extended to Peapack for the sake of the Peapack trade alone."

Now if there is anything that we intensely dislike, and to be guilty of which we would feel greatly ashamed, it is this interminable blowing of one's own horn, especially when it takes the character of running some one else down in order to exalt yourself . . . . In reference to such criticisms as the above we feel that we can afford to be silent and let our picturesque and thriving village speak for itself. However, since your correspondent so viciously attacks the keen business capacity of two civil engineers and the many bondholders of our two lines of railroad, we feel that for the sake

of their reputations we ought not to forbear a reply . . . . As to his first statement about Mendham's "superiorities", that being a matter largely of individual opinion and preference, we will make no extended reply, but let your correspondent extract such comfort from it as he may, leaving it to the development of the future gently to reveal to him that he has been solacing himself on thin, vanishing air. Only we venture to suggest that the "common sense" which sees these "superiorities" is perhaps the kind known as *un*common sense.

As to the second statement we have this much to say: First, that one manufacturing firm of Peapack pays a freight bill of $4,000 per year, and with the advent of R.R. facilities they are preparing greatly to enlarge their plant. Second, that one of the coal dealers of Chester declared recently that his Peapack trade alone amounted to at least $10 per day during six months of the year . . . . Third, that careful, conservative business men estimate a revenue of $10,000 per year to a R.R. from Peapack station alone.

Mendham quietly allowed the matter to die in its reply of July 18th:

Your correspondent from Peapack aired himself pretty well last week (no doubt he needed it). We do not see anything in his remarks worth a reply, though we would like to see some of his statements proved.

The Lackawanna's branch into Peapack was not completed until October 10, 1890, and it stopped about a half-mile east of the Rock-a-bye at an elevation about fifty feet lower. It had followed the Peapack Brook up to Peapack, whereas the Rockaway Valley was up on the hill. No connection between the roads was ever contemplated or made.

The railroad at this time gave a progress report on the passenger business. Small as was the population along the railroad, it was evident that quite a few people found reason to use the trains. By the middle of July, 1890, the railroad claimed an average of eight persons per month from Peapack to New York (the Lackawanna was not yet completed), 100 a month from Peapack to Somerville, and another 500 from New Germantown and Pottersville to Jersey Central points. Besides, the picnic grounds at Black River Falls were becoming increasingly popular.

At this time the "Official Guide" gave the following timetable schedule:

Peapack	lv.	7:10 AM	12:30 PM	4:15 PM
White House	ar.	9:30	2:52	7:10
White House	lv.	10:24 AM	2:48 PM	6:00 PM
Peapack	ar.	11:20	3:40	6:50

Although this schedule remained unchanged as long as three runs were made, it would appear that there are two errors in it. If the 2:52 and 7:10 arrival hours are correct, two trains would have had to be operated to maintain the schedule, but the railroad could not afford to use two crews and two sets of equipment. Most of the freight work was evidently performed on the down trips, although the eleven miles with a minimum schedule of fifty minutes on the return trip would allow for some switching.

A description of the general beauties seen through the territory the road traversed appeared in the August 1, 1890, *Jerseyman*. Black River Falls was completely described so as to attract picnic parties:

A ride over the new railroad from Peapack to White House, a distance of twelve miles, is very interesting, as the road opens up a beautifully rich section of country, most abundantly blessed by nature both as to productive capacity and natural scenery. From the present terminus of the road at the Peapack depot there is one of the finest and most extensive views to be seen in New Jersey, affording a most varied scene of hill, mountain, valley, wood and cultivated fields, with pretty brooks winding their way through the whole . . . .

From Peapack to Pottersville is a little over three miles, and the cars take you to the suburbs of a real country village, but little known to people ten miles distant, which is richly endowed with many natural advantages. It is situated on the Black River . . . . At Pottersville it passes through a most romantic and wild gorge, rushing and foaming down cataracts and over rocks, gathering strength in pretty and quiet whirlpools for fresh plunges, and repeating the performance over and over again. Huge rocks confine it within bounds, and ferns and moss-covered stones make a suitable frame for the picture. We had thought it over-painted until we saw it last Monday, when we realized that it would be difficult to do it justice. Those who have been to the far-famed Watkins Glen would not be disappointed with Black River Falls . . . .

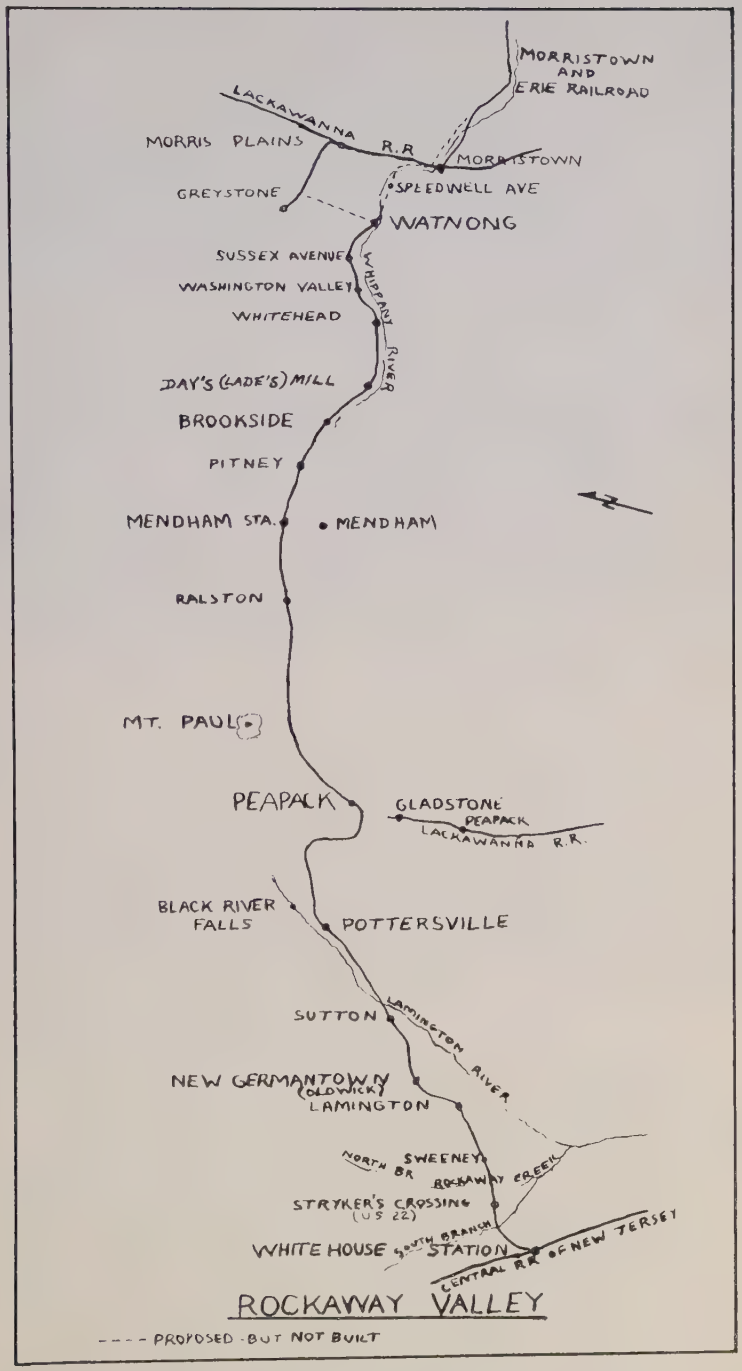

Plate 1. Rockaway Valley Line from White House Station to Watnong.

Plate 2. Rambling Through the Countryside Near Lade's Mill. *(Photograph, about 1905, by M. Hopler)*

Plate 3. Abandoned Coal Dock of William Van Derbeek at Peapack-Gladstone. *(Photograph, 1947, by T. T. Taber III)*

Chief Engineer Melick has had the grounds around the Falls made accessible by paths and rustic bridges, but has used excellent judgment in not trying to improve on Nature in her happiest efforts. Little rills of pure water trickle down the rocky sides of the glen, and a pond 1,500 feet long, with boats thereupon, affords space for sailing, while a commodious structure is available for picnic parties, for which it is already famous . . . . .

On to Mendham

The 1890 peach crop was almost a complete loss, the largest shipment being only 104 baskets, but this failure did not deter the railroad from starting the extension to Mendham on August 26th. Sixteen days later they got around to incorporating the new company as the Rockaway Valley Mendham Extension Railroad Company. Once again Sutton and Pidcock were the largest subscribers to the $75,000 of stock that was issued; bonds for a like quantity were also issued, but not until the following year.

The bright prospect of an early arrival of the railroad in Mendham caused the doubling of real estate prices in the village. Because coal had had to be teamed eight or nine miles from Morristown, it was expected that the new railroad would be able to cause a reduction in coal prices of a dollar a ton.

On September 15, 1890, the Rockaway Valley Railroad—not including the Mendham extension—was leased to the Rockaway Valley Construction and Manufacturing Company, as planned by Pidcock, Sutton, and Melick. In the lease it was stated that the railroad had a floating debt of $10,000 and was losing $10 a day with no immediate prospect of operating in the black. The floating debt was due to the inability of the railroad to pay Brothers more than $55,000 of the $65,000 contract price for the Peapack extension. The failure of the peach crop had meant a sizeable loss of revenue, and this revenue was required to tide the road over the ten months of the year when it could not operate at a profit.

The Construction Company agreed to lease the railroad for ten years (or less, if the railroad could get back on firm financial ground), pay the floating debt, and operate two round trips a day. The $10,000 capital stock of the Construction Company paid the floating debt. The Rockaway Valley bondholders agreed that

no interest would be paid on the bonds for the next ten years.

At the time of the leasing the railroad owned the following equipment, which had a total value of $3361: 1 locomotive ("P. W. Melick"), 1 passenger car, 2 box cars, 10 flat cars, 1 hand car and 1 push car. Two days after the leasing, the new Baldwin locomotive, #3, arrived and was owned by the Construction Company.

The first economy measure enacted was the discontinuance of the midday round trip except on Saturdays. No service was given on Sundays as was customary with most short lines.

When the railroad had advanced as far as Peapack, it was faced with a gulch which would have to be crossed by a trestle 25 feet high and 300 feet long. While grading proceeded to Mendham, this sizeable trestle posed a headache for the road. It was finally built, but was so flimsy that the high spot of any ride over the railroad was the "thrill" of seeing if the train would get over the bridge. It always did, but when the road was closed down the trestle was one of the big reasons for the closing. The acquiring of the land for it required condemnation proceedings, and the structure and the large fill required a great deal of work for the few employed on the extension construction.

Leaving Peapack, the new line passed over the trestle, went up a 2 per cent grade, followed the side of a hill past Mt. Paul, dropped down to Ralston, and finally followed the valley up to Mendham while climbing a 1.8 per cent grade. Even that heavy grade was insufficient to surmount the hill into town, and the road had to be laid near the bottom of the valley, which was about a mile west of the center of the village. About a quarter-mile from the end of track, the line swung to the right and proceeded closer to town on a stiff grade, stopping at what is now Garabrant Street. When the road was extended to Watnong, this short stretch was torn up and relayed along the bottom of the hill where the grade was less. Stages were used to transport mail and passengers to and from town.

In the spring of 1891 track laying was commenced, and on June 13th it reached Mendham. The *Jerseyman* reported the final day of construction on June 19th:

The track-laying of the extension to Mendham was completed on last Saturday afternoon. In the morning 3,000 feet yet had to be laid, but with promise of a day's work when finished the boys worked with a will and by the middle of the afternoon the last rail was down and the cheer went up, "It is finished". The Mendham people were on hand with a treat for the boys, after partaking of which they started for home with happy hearts, having laid over half a mile of track. The road is now eighteen miles long. Freight will be received at once for Mendham, and on the 20th inst. trains will be run to that place.

The first train did not fulfill this promise, but it arrived over the six miles of new track on the 25th and was briefly reported by the *Jerseyman* on the following day. Apparently the road was not very dependable in the matter of schedule, and when it had both the #3 and the "Peter W." in shape and operating, the *Jerseyman* commented, "This ought to enable the Company to run their trains on time."

The 1891 peach crop was a success, and by the middle of September 140,000 baskets had been shipped. Other business was also heavy and the line was able to operate profitably. Matters were definitely looking better. The September 4th *Jerseyman* recounted the business the road had done in just one day:

When the railroad reached Peapack it was dubbed the "Rock-a-by-Baby" by some joking friends, but last Tuesday it received and delivered to the Central Railroad at White House 7,000 baskets of peaches, 120 cans of milk, 15 car loads of coal, 2 car loads of sawed lumber, 3 car loads of fertilizers (to raise larger crops for shipment), the freight car full of freight and the passenger car full of passengers, with business on the increase. Evidently the "Baby" is getting to be considerable of a man.

Although this day was exceptional, the success of the peach crop meant that the gross earnings of the railroad would just double (from the $8,410 earned in 1890 to $16,936 earned in 1891), while expenses increased only from $11,176 to $12,060. The railroad found that the passenger business made up almost 20 per cent of the earnings for 1891.

An optimistic article appeared in the *Jerseyman* on September 25, 1891, describing the excellent future ahead for the road:

The Railroad has now been operated by the construction company for one year, it having taken the management Sept. 15th, 1890, and the showing it will soon make to the Directors of the Company will prove it has earned enough to pay four per cent on the total bonded indebtedness. — This is considered promising, as the road, when they took hold of it, stopped at Peapack, and has been extended to Mendham, still running through a farming community. And as now it only has seven miles to complete to have a city as a terminus, and the great Baltimore & Ohio, Philadelphia & Reading and Jersey Central Railroad systems at the other end, makes the management believe that it will be one of the best paying local roads in the country and this fact asserted will soon be proved. The fact is that the road now has all the business the present motive power can do. New side tracks are being continually put in to take care of this new business.

If conditions had actually been as bright as the management liked to picture them, the road would undoubtedly still be operating today.

Some iron ore was being shipped, as was lime, from around Peapack. Lack of sidings and adequate roads, plus the desire to give service, caused the road to institute the practice of leaving lime and fertilizer cars on the main line, where they could be loaded or unloaded by the farmers at their farms. When the train returned on the down trip it picked the cars up and pushed them ahead of the engine until they could be put in a siding and run around.

At each of the four towns along the line, New Germantown, Pottersville, Peapack, and Mendham, coal trestles or sidings were made, water tanks installed, and stations erected. A station was also erected at Sutton, and for a short while there was a coal trestle at White House. But no facilities were made for turning the locomotives until years later, when turntables were put in at Watnong and White House.

Shipments of milk by A. C. Durling of Pottersville became so great that a milk train was operated from Pottersville to White House on Sunday afternoons, and this continued most of the time until cessation of operations in 1913.

Handling this ever increasing business were locomotives #3 and old "Peter W." The latter was in poor condition, and what with improved business and the longer line it was decided to purchase another. About August, 1892, the new engine #5 ar-

rived (apparently the road gave only odd numbers to its engines). The newcomer was a big 2-8-0 camelback, which weighed fifty-two tons and soon proved itself too big for the light rails and the sharp curves. During the next year or two it was off the track more than it was on.

It was evident to Pidcock that the locomotive was not suited for the railroad, and he decided to use it to better purpose. He also owned a new and expanding railroad down in Georgia named the Georgia Northern, and about 1894, without telling the other stockholders of the Rockaway Valley, he had #5 shipped to Georgia. When the "theft" was discovered, a furor arose and court action was taken. The exact date and the details of the stealing are unknown to the writer, as no record can be found in tracing court records or newspapers; however, the locomotive stayed in Georgia and Pidcock did not go to jail.

To replace #5, a Pennsylvania Railroad locomotive, #296, a 4-6-0 weighing 42 tons, was received in May 1894. Two years later, probably to replace #3—which had in its turn been sold or transferred to the Georgia Northern—another Pennsylvania locomotive, #868, a 4-6-0 weighing 42 tons, also was added to the roster.

With the Mendham extension completed, the railroad turned its sights to Morristown. The line was now close enough to raise money both there and in Brookside; grading started probably in April of 1892, and track laying followed closely behind.

Joy in Brookside

The Morristown extension was relatively inexpensive to build. Leaving Mendham, it continued in the valley on a grade close to 2 per cent until Pitney was almost reached, three quarters of a mile away. From there it followed the Whippany River, downgrade, to Watnong, seven miles from Mendham. It crossed the river about nine times, not counting crossings of many tributary streams, and in the two miles from Whitehead to Watnong the track was laid in the marsh which the river formed. Even with this insecure foundation Melick kept the roadbed to a minimum, with the result that in future years the track was to be under

water several times, and in such poor condition that trains could only creep along while the track tried its best not to disappear into the mud.

As with the Mendham extension, Pidcock was in no hurry to form the company legally, and it was not in fact formed until May 17th, as the Rockaway Valley Morristown Extension. $125,000 of stock and a like amount of bonds were issued to cover the cost of construction, A. A. Clark of Somerville, Melick, and Pidcock being the largest subscribers. For the most part, the directors were those who had been on the early extension companies; much local money was invested, but none of the first directors were from or near Morristown.

Eighteen days later, on June 4th, the first of many special trains was run to Black River Falls from the end of track near Brookside. On July 4th three trains were run from the end of track to the Falls. Several speakers talked on the events of the day, and there were games, swimming, dancing, fireworks, and plenty of other activities provided to make an enjoyable time for those going down.

The arrival of the first train at Brookside was heralded by a celebration, and the news release put out by the railroad made the most of it. The train arrived June 20th and the *Jerseyman* of July 1st carried the story:

> On Monday of last week the village of Brookside was noted in its history as having a locomotive in it for the first time as it came in whistling with ringing bell and stopped at the new siding for the place just finished. The roar of a cannon was heard, and from the Grove came the citizens to meet it with welcome rejoicing; wreaths of flowers were hung over the head light and other parts of the engine, and a big bouquet was presented to the Superintendent. A feast of welcome was provided for the laborers and all felt thankful at the reception the town gave the stranger. Cheers were given for the President of the Construction Company, followed by more for the other officers of the Company. After several short speeches, the day's work being over, all went home rejoicing.

Track laying was rapidly pushed, and on July 31st it was completed into Watnong at Lake Valley Road. Here it stopped, two miles from the center of Morristown, for two reasons. One was that to build further required a formidable bridge over the

Whippany River and then a large fill and cut to get to Speedwell Avenue; none of this could be done cheaply, and even at Speedwell Avenue the line would be a mile from the center of town, hills and built-up sections of town preventing it from approaching in any other direction. The other reason was that at Watnong there was a road directly into town, the last road the track would cross before it would have to bridge the Whippany River, and so the nearest point to town that the line could reach cheaply. Stages would be used to carry passengers and freight the rest of the way into Morristown.

Several sidings were built, and later two coal companies, Sands and Company and the Consumers Coal Company, built coal trestles there.

The peach crop for 1892 was not as large as expected during the year, and by the latter part of September only 100,000 baskets had been shipped, of which Pidcock's share was 40,000. The *Jerseyman* stated in the September 4th issue that 750 baskets made a carload, which would mean that about 133 cars were shipped out to Boston and New York.

By December, however, the road was bringing in large quantities of freight to Morristown, a service described by the paper in the December 9th issue:

> Large quantities of freight are now brought to Morristown by way of the Rockaway Valley railroad. The delivery is prompt and the goods shipped from New York reach here more quickly than by the D.L. & W. An express office has been established here also, in the Company's rooms on Speedwell avenue which have just been opened, and passengers are taken from there by stage to the terminus of the road and brought from there on their return. The road has already been of great advantage to us, and has saved the town many thousand of dollars.

This progressive policy was continued throughout the life of the railroad although the cost of carting freight and passengers into Morristown ran to a sizeable sum and in later years took one eighth of the annual revenues.

Even with the poorer peach crop, but with the valuable Morristown business, gross revenues jumped 50 per cent to $23,910 while the operating expenses reportedly increased very little. Mainte-

nance work on the new line was not yet required, so that the only additional expenses entailed were a Watnong and Morristown agent and the cost of fuel to run the train over the seven additional miles.

Construction was now complete and the railroad was firmly established as the life line of the communities it served. With no competition the company could expect to receive, and did receive, all freight business that had to be moved more than just a few miles.

The Blow Falls

In August, 1893, the Construction Company was successfully sued by J. N. Pidcock, Jr. and F. J. Pidcock for $36,700.87, a sum which the company could not pay. On July 23, 1894, the claim still not paid, the Construction Company went into receivership and Peter W. Honeyman was appointed receiver. At the same time, John Auble and several stockholders asked that the Rockaway Valley be put in receivership, T. W. Phoenix asked that the Mendham extension be put in receivership, and E. T. Day and others requested the same for the Morristown Extension.

At the time of these applications the railroad was doing relatively well and most of the stockholders tried to prevent the appointment. Melick wrote several articles in the *Jerseyman,* the one published on July 20, 1894, being the most descriptive:

> Recently a disturbing element, in shape of a small stockholder at New Germantown, out of a job, has been trying to secure the consent of other small holders of the stock of different sections of the railroad to join with him and get the property in the hands of a receiver, so that he can thus make a nice position for himself where the property could be milked for all it is worth. At a meeting of the directors of all the three R.V. Companies on Saturday [July 14th] the following preamble and resolutions were adopted:
>
> "Whereas, information has been received by members of this Board that certain malcontent stock holders and bond holders of this Company are circulating a petition asking for subscriptions for money with which to employ counsel to institute proceedings for the placing of this company in the hands of a Receiver, and with the openly expressed intention of wrecking said Road and destroying the interest of the majority of the owners of the stocks and bonds of this company, and of selling said road to a rival railroad corporation, and that said malcontents have entered into

some arrangement with a syndicate of outsiders having no pecuniary interest in this road to dispose thereof to said syndicate, and that said syndicate have advanced or agreed to advance the sum of two thousand dollars with which to place this road in the hands of a receiver and carry out the purpose of wrecking the same: Now, Therefore,

Resolved, That this Board of Directors deprecate any such action and denounce the same as a conspiracy to defraud the people who have honestly put their money into the construction of this road, and the President and other officers of the road are hereby instructed to oppose all attempts to place this road in the hands of a receiver and to employ such counsel and to expend such sums as may be necessary for this purpose."

Allow me to say this resolution will be carried out with the same determination that has been shown by never giving up during the last six years.

Whatever efforts were exerted by Melick and Pidcock were not sufficient to prevent the receivership, and on July 30, 1894, ex-Governor Ludlow was appointed receiver of the three railroad companies. Mr. Ludlow declined several days later, and J. J. Bergen was appointed on August 8th. Melick then wrote another story, explaining why the receiver was appointed, which appeared in the *Jerseyman* on August 3rd:

Application for a receiver of the Rockaway Valley R.R. Co. was made on Monday last [July 24th] before Chancellor McGill at Jersey City. Those in favor were represented by Lawyer Lindabury of Elizabeth . . . [and] J. H. Sayre of New Germantown, who has long been working up the matter in his own interest and also in the interest of other railroads.

The opponents who represented $367,000 of bonds out of $400,000 were represented by Messrs. Babbitt and Lawrence of Jersey City. The road having defaulted in its payment of interest the Chancellor decided under the law that a receiver must be appointed. After argument he appointed ex-Gov. George C. Ludlow as receiver. This was a great disappointment for those who were bent on wrecking the road, which was the game they tried to play.

The situation that actually caused the placing of the road in the hands of a receiver was the following: the lease of the railroad was voided when the Construction Company went into receivership, because the Company had failed to live up to the terms of the lease. Taxes and bond interest were owed; $2500 of Rockaway Valley liabilities, which the lessee by the terms of the lease should

have paid, were not paid; the Rockaway Valley did not have the cash to give the Construction Company; and Pidcock, Melick, and Sutton were not going to pay out $2500 from their own pockets.

The three had formed the Construction Company to get around paying bond interest. They believed that the road could make operating expenses but not sufficient profit to pay the interest, and they supposed they were safeguarding their investment from a foreclosure sale that might result from default in interest payments. However, when the Construction Company violated the terms of the lease by not paying the $2500, the bond interest came due and had to be paid or else the road could be put in the hands of a receiver, which was done.

The two extensions, which were not leased to the Construction Company, were put into receivership because they had paid no interest on their bonds, and James R. Kline, trustee for the bondholders, considered it the best move to salvage what money could be got through foreclosure sale rather than keep the companies solvent, receive no interest, and be unable to sell the bonds to any one else.

There were now four companies in bankruptcy: the Rockaway Valley Construction and Manufacturing Company, the Rockaway Valley Railroad, and the Mendham and Morristown extension companies. The equipment of the railroad at this time consisted of: 1 locomotive, 1 passenger car, 1 box car, 4 construction cars, 1 caboose, 1 hand car and 1 push car.

Merely History

The 1894 receiverships were the beginning of the end of the Rock-a-bye Baby. There were still to be good years and bad, new owners and directors, new efforts to extend the tracks to Speedwell Avenue in Morristown, new struggles, disappointments and bankruptcies. Work on the line finally stopped in May, 1912; the railroad closed down in October, 1913; by midsummer of 1918 the tracks were torn up, the rails and ties sold, the right of way abandoned. All this is another story, long, intricate and sad.

Yet the men and women who rode the line still tell graphic and humorous stories of their ancient experiences. There was the time the passengers rode in a box car because the coach was in for repairs. There were the kids who commuted to school in Morristown: how often was it that one of them was late, and the train waited? There was the carpet that added a home touch to the coach when Jack Young, who scrubbed it clean once a month, was conductor. Abandonment brought an end to these interesting operations, but it will never stop the tales of those who remember.

Today, as one retraces the line, one can still see the cut and embankment of the Speedwell Lake extension, the roadbed—or at least where the track was laid—running out of Watnong. Once out of the Whippany River valley little remains; the land has been cultivated, or overgrown with trees and brush that grew alongside the track. The grist mills are gone except for a few buildings at Pottersville. At Gladstone the embankment approach to the trestle still juts out into a field, and the coal dock still remains, the sole surviving structure. Bridge foundations may still be seen down near White House and the roadbed is clearly defined in places; for years a coach remained near the highway there, and engine #190 and a steam shovel sat by the Jersey Central tracks, but they are gone now. The road is merely history.

Campus Evangelism Two Centuries Ago

STEWART M. ROBINSON

The middle decades of the eighteenth century were marked by a surge of religious fervor both in Great Britain and in the American colonies. Some of the leaders were Gilbert Tennent, George Whitefield, James Davenport and Jonathan Edwards. In 1757 Gilbert Tennent had been fourteen years a pastor in Philadelphia, where he displayed his enthusiastic evangelicalism but not his divisive criticism. Seventeen years had passed since he delivered the famous Nottingham sermon, "The Danger of an Unconverted Ministry", which caused a great controversy. Whitefield crossed the ocean thirteen times and had already made four tours of the Colonies, but he sailed for England early in 1752, not to return until 1763. Davenport died in 1757; Edwards, in 1758. One dramatic instance of the Great Awakening, by which this era came to be known in the Colonies, occurred at Princeton and was the genuine fruitage of the work of these preachers and their colleagues in the churches. There are several brief descriptions available.

In October, 1757, the Reverend Gilbert Tennent, aged 53, introduced a volume of sermons to the public with a preface in which he wrote that he was "induced hereto as follows: In March last, I received a letter from the College of New-Jersey, informing me of an extraordinary appearance of the divine power and presence there, and requesting I would come and see; with this kind motion I gladly complied, and having been there some time, had all the evidence of the reality of the aforesaid report, which could be in reason desired; . . . " He inserted a portion of a letter from his brother, two years younger and

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pastor at Freehold, New Jersey, the Reverend William Tennent II, "I went to the College last Monday and saw a memorable display of God's power and grace in the conviction of sinners, the whole house was a Bochim [Judges 2: 1-5]; a sense of God's holiness was so impressed on the hearts of its inhabitants, that all of them, excepting two (esteemed religious) were greatly shaken respecting the state of their souls. . . . This religious concern was not begun by the ordinary means of preaching, or promoted by any alarming methods, yet some were ready to sink under its weight. It spread like the increasing light of the morning, a wise and gracious providence had brought about a concurrence of different incidents which tended to engage them to thoughtfulness about their souls."

Gilbert Tennent names some of the "different incidents", viz., several students had received letters stressing the necessity of an inward religion, some practical books of a like tendency had come on the campus, the acute illness of one student stirred the lads' thoughts (as was the case with St. Francis), and the subject of divine things became a topic of conversation. The morning and evening prayers were warmed with the glow of a real personal concern. Being deeply impressed by the whole change in attitude, Gilbert Tennent was moved to pray, "May Almighty God graciously keep possession of his own house, in all future time, and make it by his continued influence, a diffusive and durable blessing to the Church and State." To the College of New Jersey, only recently housed in Nassau Hall, "the most spacious structure on the continent", and provided with a royal charter and some generous benefactions, which Tennent in 1753 had gone to England to help secure, this spiritual endowment seemed like a crowning token for good.

The Reverend John Rodgers (aged 30) described the events at Princeton in a letter to George Whitefield, written from St. George's, Delaware, on July 4, 1757: "A pious and modest member of the senior class told me that about 25 or 30 were, in the judgment of charity, converted about the end of March and I was there about six weeks ago and found that tho' the harvest was chiefly over yet the summer was not quite ended, [Jer. 8:20]

some were still enquiring the way to Zion with their faces heavenward. The college looks glorious."

Another letter written September 11, 1758, by Dr. William Shippen, a physician of Philadelphia, introduced his son William to Whitefield and reported on the spiritual events at Princeton as follows: "It is now 12 months since I wrote you the agreeable news of a very hopeful appearance among the students in Jersey College . . . I think there were between sixty and seventy boys and young Fellows then in college, when all save 3 or 5, almost all at once became deeply distressed about their souls, a great number of whom continue to behave very becomingly." He enclosed for Mrs. Whitefield a copy of Livington's *Eulogium* on President Aaron Burr (who had died two days before Commencement in 1757), and mentioned the deaths of President Jonathan Edwards (who had succeeded Burr at Princeton), the Reverend James Davenport, President Edwards' father and President Burr's widow "all within six months".

When strong religious fervor crosses a student body, the first result one is inclined to look for is a turning to the ministry as a life vocation. In the case of the colonial colleges this impulse must be guarded by the realization that these schools were founded with a view to preparing an educated ministry. Five of the six first graduates of Princeton became ministers. The average entering the ministry in the seven years before this reported episode was 46 per cent, the average in the four years that followed it was 47 per cent, and the average in the five years after 1760 was 42 per cent. Entering the ministry was of itself no special sign of a deepened spiritual experience. Students at Nassau Hall, knowing Gilbert Tennent, subscribed when he proposed printing a volume of sermons. The names of twenty-two, a third of the college, appear on the subscription list, but less than half this number became ministers. Thirty-two students in college at the time did enter the ministry, and we can gather some relevant items from some of their life histories. We ask, across two centuries, whether their lives seem to have been deepened in any ways that we can discern.

John Huntington taught in Moore's Indian Charity School at Lebanon, Connecticut. Noah Benedict, Moses Baldwin, and Na-

thaniel Noyes went into parishes where they served 53, 50, and 32 years respectively. Elnathan Gregory, Amos Thompson and John Slemmons lived into the 1800's, serving more than one parish. Joseph Alexander founded a school, later a college, in South Carolina. Caleb Curtiss was a representative to the General Court of Connecticut. Alexander McWhorter did extensive evangelistic work in the South and, when the Revolutionary War came, was commissioned by the Congress to undertake special missions for political purposes. Two were chaplains and died in the war: Caleb Barnum, stricken at Ticonderoga, died August 28, 1776 at Pittsfield, Massachusetts, while trying to get home to Taunton; Enoch Green died of fever in New York during the same summer. Josiah Thatcher, after fifteen years in the pulpit, took a judgeship for fifteen years on the Court of Common Pleas in Maine. Samuel Blair, II, seven years after graduation, was offered the presidency of Princeton but withdrew when John Witherspoon accepted after first refusing; he later served as Chaplain in Congress for two years.

James Lyon, who took one of Tennent's books, shares with Francis Hopkinson the distinction of being earliest among native American composers. He wrote a serious work advocating the use of instrumental music in church worship, in opposition to the view of most who followed the congregational and presbyterian pattern and strenuously repudiated instruments. (Yet John Adams, attending Mass on a ceremonial occasion in Philadelphia, enjoyed the music so much that he mentioned it in a letter to his wife.) Lyon wrote the music for an ode used at his Princeton commencement and, later, music for several hymns. Most of his pastoral labors were at Machias, Maine, where he died in 1794, thirty-five years after graduation.

Three men stood out prominently in the Revolutionary period. James Caldwell, at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, was chaplain, forage finder for the Army, and pastor, all at the same time. His wife was killed during the Battle of Springfield in 1780 by a marauding soldier, and he himself was shot by a tipsy guard as he was meeting a guest at a ferryboat. Washington gave one hundred dollars toward a fund for the nine orphaned Caldwell children. John Carmichael, from his pulpit in Pennsylvania at

the Forks of the Brandywine, sounded such a note of challenge that he drew most of the men of his congregation into the ranks of the Continental forces. His sermon, June 4, 1775, entitled "Self-Defensive War Lawful", was printed and circulated with acclaim. William Tennent, III, from his pulpit in Charleston carried on a vigorous ministry interspersed with political service, sometimes speaking in his church and in the State House on the same day. He toured up-country in Carolina, with William Henry Drayton, where the feelings of the settlers were uneasy and their minds uncertain. Later he made a great plea for liberty of religion when South Carolina was debating its constitution as an independent state. If the lives of other ministers bloomed more or less unseen to the eye of the historian, we know they served their churches.

Turning to the other half of the group of undergraduates who came under the influence of this religious stimulation in 1757, we find them exerting their energies in the midst of vocations judged secular but by no means unspiritual. Of these five died early, among them Ebenezer Noyes and John Shippen, physicians, the latter with his degree from Rheims. There are six other physicians to be noted. James Smith (medical degree from Leyden), a brother of William Smith, the historian and judge of New York, and John Van Brugh Tennent (died 1770) were founders of the New York Medical College and among its teachers. Henry Wells lived to 1814, fifty-seven years out of college, and we may think of him as a general practitioner; as a student he subscribed for one of Gilbert Tennent's books of sermons. John Archer, who received from the Philadelphia College of Medicine, later the University of Pennsylvania, the first medical degree involving lecture attendance given in America, founded the medical faculty of Maryland. He was also a member of the convention which framed the Constitution of Maryland, and sat in the Federal Congress for three terms, 1801-1807.

Jabez Campfield, another of the group of physicians, was an army surgeon in the Revolution and a member of General Sullivan's western campaign in Pennsylvania in 1779. Like a dozen other members of that punitive expedition, Campfield kept a diary. On August 11, 1779, he wrote: "I very heartily wish these

rusticks [the Indians] may be reduced to reason, by the aproach of this army, without their suffering the extreems of war: there is something so cruel, in destroying the habitations of any people (however mean they may be, being their all) that I might say the prospect hurts my feelings." The sentiment, more than the spelling, does Princeton credit. The last of the medical fraternity, and the greatest, was Benjamin Rush. He lived till 1813, one of the leading citizens of the nation, a signer of the Declaration of Independence and son-in-law of a signer. After completing his studies at Edinburgh, he established the first free dispensary, worked for prison reform, opposed public executions and capital punishment, was a leader in the temperance movement, advocated greater educational opportunities for women, and helped found Dickinson College.

We catch only fleeting glimpses of a few among the rest. Ralph Pomeroy was a teacher at that same Moore's Indian Charity School. David Smith taught school in Charleston and educated young Edward Rutledge, later a member of the Continental Congress and a signer of the Declaration. Samuel Spencer was a lawyer and judge in North Carolina. Jeremiah Van Rensselaer was a lieutenant governor of New York. Joseph Reed attained considerable fame in Pennsylvania and on the Revolutionary scene as member of the Congress, secretary to Washington, adjutant general in the Army, and president of the Pennsylvania State Convention. He studied law under Richard Stockton and at the Middle Temple in London. He refused the best offer Britain could make to act as a mediator in the struggle, remarking that he was not worth much, but he was worth more than England could afford to pay.

Among the youth who went out from the not-yet-ivy-clad walls of Nassau Hall was a group of seven who became merchants, early examples of college-trained businessmen, four of whom subscribed for Tennent's book of sermons. Nicholas Bayard went home to New York, where he had a business at Grand Street and The Bowery. Timothy Edwards (eldest son of the great Jonathan) left college to keep store at Elizabethtown, New Jersey, moving shortly after to Stockbridge, Massachusetts, where he had great influence as a member of the State Council and as judge.

Peter Fanueil of Boston echoes a familiar name, and represented the mercantile interest in Nova Scotia, in the West Indies, and, after 1785, in Boston. James Leslie was a New York merchant, who at his death left a fund to enable young men to study for the ministry. He had in his library a copy of Tennent's book, for which he subscribed in 1757. Enos Kelsey stayed in Princeton as a merchant and became college treasurer. Stephen Sayre, who had the most spectacular career, went to London where he served a year as High Sheriff. In 1768 he published a tract "The Englishman Deceived", and it was he who brought Arthur Lee and Samuel Adams into correspondence with each other. He headed the list of protesters when the Boston Port Bill was signed and later was put in the Tower of London, accused of treason. Jonathan Bayard Smith went home to Philadelphia to become an active man in church and public business. The minute book of the Second Presbyterian Church for 1774 shows Smith as secretary of the Board of Trustees, chairman of the committee on accounts, chairman of the repair committee, and present at every meeting. That same summer he was a deputy to the state convention, and in 1777 and 1778 he was a member of the Continental Congress. He was on the committee to supervise the public journals of the Congress and had a great reputation for keeping records with scrupulous care.

These brief biographies lack much of the detail we could enjoy, but after two centuries it means something for a life to have left any record. All are not success stories, but there is a very definite suggestion of superiority in the accomplishments of many of the young men. Only one man has left an uncharacteristic memorial. He was the son of a prominent New Englander, family friend to Governor Belcher, and had been urged to come to Princeton by an undoubtedly enthusiastic pastor, the Reverend Samuel McClintock (Princeton, class of 1751). This young man failed in life and died in the poor house. No other record is like this. The group left college to act on a scene of unprecedented significance. By the time they were fifty they lived in an independent nation of vast potentiality. So far as we know, business, music, the law, medicine, and the ministry gained, in every case but one, a man of sound religious faith and a commensurate life.

THE EDITOR'S DESK

WHAT'S IN A NAME?

The first man to change his name cannot now be asked to state his reasons. It may be that they were as compelling as Abraham's, or as frivolous as those of Goldsmith's heroine, who stooped to conquer by tossing her name, so to speak, down the kitchen stairs. From the beginning, however, there must always have been in the course of such changes a moment of indecision, when the merits of the old name struggled with those of the new and the verdict hung in the balance.

Now it can hardly be said that "Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society" is the best of all possible names for a magazine. Its syllables do not fall with any particular grace on the ear, nor with any irresistible impact on the mind. Few, in fact, are the societies whose "proceedings" could be expected to awaken an interest translatable into subscriptions, or indeed any interest at all, in the world outside society walls. Though this magazine will never be read, to be sure, by the entire world, it is still desirable that it reach a larger segment of that world than it does at present, and it is possible that a less forbidding title, suggesting wider horizons and a more humane approach to learning, might draw many readers to the voluminous, intricate, neglected and fascinating history of New Jersey.

It may be urged, on the other hand, that the magazine has done very well for one hundred and fifteen years without a change of name. Readers are used to it; libraries are used to it; the stars in their courses, for all we know, are used to it. If the name is not particularly exciting, it has dignity and a certain mellow charm, like musty leather, or the wine that is saved for your great-aunt's lawyer. Besides, and perhaps most important, it may be hard to find anything better.

Upon all these matters the Editor respectfully requests the advice of the members of the Society. Should it appear that there is a preponderant sentiment in favor of the old name, the old it should remain; if a change is clearly desired, some measure of agreement on a new name will be sought. One suggestion that has had considerable support is "New Jersey Historical Review."

If members will send their opinion on this title, and their nomination of any other, to 34 Cleveland Lane, Princeton, their communications will receive the Editor's prompt and grateful attention.

* * * *

A change of name of a rather different kind took place by mistake in the January issue of this magazine. In the retrospective piece which appeared under the heading of "The Editor's Desk" in that issue, reference was made to St. Stephen's Protestant Episcopal Church in Perth Amboy. Dr. William C. McGinnis, City Historian of Perth Amboy, promptly wrote in to protest that the name of the city's Episcopal Church is not St. Stephen's but St. Peter's. The Editor regrets this inadvertent transformation of names and acknowledges the correction with thanks.

* * * *

While we are on the subject of transformations, we might take note of a remarkable one now to be seen at the edge of the battlefield at Princeton. A portico desgined more than a century ago by Thomas U. Walter, architect of the Capitol dome at Washington, has withstood chance and change better than the structures it was intended from time to time to adorn. First erected in 1836 as the portico of a house in Philadelphia, it was moved about 1900 to decorate the front of a house in Princeton, which was in turn demolished in 1957. The portico has now undergone, one supposes, its last transposition, and stands a singularly impressive monument against a grove of tall pines, marking the graves of the British and American soldiers who died in the Battle of Princeton. It is a conspicuous sight on the north side of Mercer Street, where the hill slopes from Lovers Lane toward Stony Brook, and is a forceful reminder of that winter day long ago which set so deep a stamp on the history of New Jersey and the history of the United States. Members of the Society will be pleased to learn, if they have not known it before, that two fellow members, Professor Sherley W. Morgan and Mrs. Walter E. Edge, were among those chiefly responsible for the success of the undertaking.

Finally, the Editor would like to call the readers' attention to the names newly printed on the inside front cover of this issue. The Society is fortunate in having the services of so distinguished a board of advisors, who will be of incalculable help to the Editor in finding new material for the magazine and in saving him from the pitfalls that beset the path of the unwary. It is hoped that the membership of the board will increase as time goes by, and that the quality of the magazine will increasingly reflect the excellence of the advice it enjoys. If that hope is fulfilled, all will be well, and it can be said without manner of doubt that the *Proceedings* has earned itself a new name.

A NEW PUBLICATION

JUET'S JOURNAL

The Voyage of the Half Moon
from 4 April to 7 November 1609

by Robert Juet

Introduction by John T. Cunningham
Edited by Robert M. Lunny

Collections of the Society: Volume XII

Limited edition, price $5.; or $4. to members of the Society, libraries and students. Paper bound edition, price $1.

OF BOOKS AND THINGS

FROM THE LIBRARY

WILLIAM H. GAINES, JR.

The recent announcement that the editorial offices of the Papers of Woodrow Wilson will be moved this fall from Washington to Princeton should be of interest to members of the New Jersey Historical Society and to other readers of this magazine. This ambitious enterprise is expected to result in a definitive edition, running to approximately forty volumes, of Wilson's letters, speeches, and other writings. The work of collecting copies of pertinent materials has been under way for more than a year under the direction of Editor Arthur S. Link, author of several works about Wilson and a recognized authority on the period.

As it has already done in connection with other projects of this nature, the Society is making available photocopies of documents in its collection that were written by or to Wilson or that pertain to him. Included in our holdings are letters to William Nelson, longtime corresponding secretary of this organization; to Henrietta R. Palmer, a former librarian of the Society; and to Mrs. Alexander F. Jameson of the Woman's Branch. There are also two letters in the Joseph P. Bradley Papers concerning statements made by Professor Wilson in his *Congressional Government* in regard to Bradley's role (as Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court) in the Legal Tender cases. The Bamberger Autograph Collection includes a note from Wilson to John W. Foster, Secretary of State under Benjamin Harrison, regarding scholarships at Princeton; while the Lindley M. Garrison Papers, acquired in 1958, contain minutes of cabinet meetings, copies of official documents, and other items that throw light on the military problems faced by the first Wilson administration, in which Garrison served as Secretary of War. There are also the texts of four speeches, transcribed from stenographic notes taken at the time, which Wilson made during his campaign for governor in 1910.[1]

Not all of the Wilson items in our collection were written by him or to him. One letter, reflecting the opinion of a political opponent, was addressed to a man who had been a determined antagonist during Wilson's term as president of Princeton University. This document, now preserved in the Walter Dormitzer Autograph Collection and dated February 8, 1912, was written by James Smith, Jr., Senator from New Jersey between 1893 and 1899 and for many years boss of the Democratic Party in the State; the recipient was Adrian H. Joline, the eminent attorney, who as a mem-

ber of the University's Board of Trustees had successfully opposed Wilson's graduate school plan.

The timing of the letter is interesting. By the early part of 1912 Wilson had become a serious contender for the presidential nomination on the Democratic ticket. On January 7th of that year the *New York Sun,* a paper hostile to Wilson, published a letter that he had written to Joline five years before, at a time when the two men were relatively friendly and shared misgivings about the policies of William Jennings Bryan. That letter expressed Wilson's hope that "we could do something at once dignified and effective to knock Mr. Bryan into a cocked hat," and its publication in 1912 naturally threatened to embroil Wilson with Bryan's supporters. The Governor saved the situation by stating in a press conference that he had revised his opinion of Bryan in the intervening years ("even if a man changes his mind, it ought not to embarrass him," he declared), and by paying public tribute to Bryan in a speech at the party's Jackson Day Dinner on January 8th.[2]

It was against this background that Smith, who had refrained from public comment on the incident, wrote the letter to Joline, the text of which appears below. The document is typed, with Smith's signature, on stationery of the Federal Trust Company of Newark, an institution of which he was president.

February 8, 1912

My dear Friend:

I was very much pleased to hear from you and am sorry to hear you say that you do not feel as well as you would like to be. The few of our kind that are left ought to enjoy good health, and hope if you do not now, that you soon will.

I am thankful to you for the correction in reference to our mutual friend, Dr. Wilson, and Bryan. I had a long talk the other day at the Cleveland Memorial Trustees' meeting, with Chancellor Magee, Bayard Henry, and Percy Pine.[3] I tried to convert them to my way of thinking, that the doctor was not conscious of the fact that he told little fibs at times, but they were determined to have their own opinion about it, and they do not agree with mine. You know he thinks that he deserves to have a premium put upon him for the fact that he does change his mind so frequently — he thinks that is evidence that he is a great man. I certainly do not know what to think of him. I do not want to feel that where my four boys were taught, and graduated from, that they had, what would appear to be such a dangerous fellow as President, and that it was under him that they got their training. I want to be charitable, and feel as our friend Thomas N. McCarter, did, the son[4] of the present generation, whom I am sure you knew, defending a man here in our Courts in Essex County, who had committed some irregularity when he was running for an office, and McCarter acquitted him before a Jury on the ground that when a man became a candidiate for an office he was not responsible for what he said or did. I believe this would

hold good with our dear Doctor Wilson, and if I was on the Jury I would be inclined to give him the benefit of that ruling, because he certainly knows that his course now is not what it should be for a man of his learning and knowledge.

With kind personal regards,
I am
Very sincerely yours,
James Smith Jr.

The most significant point about this letter is what it leaves unsaid, rather than what it says. The "correction in reference to Dr. Wilson and Bryan" to which Smith refers was evidently made in a letter from Joline to Smith which has not been found. What it contained, what reference—if any—to the "cocked hat" letter of 1907, one can only guess. It may be that the answer to this question lies in material already assembled by the editors of the Wilson Papers, or it may lie in documents in private hands. Any document bearing on Wilson is of interest to the editors who are engaged in this enterprise, and the Society is happy to support their appeal to be informed of all papers that concern Woodrow Wilson or that throw light on his career or the events in which he was involved.

[1]Ransom E. Noble, "Four Wilson Campaign Speeches," *Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society,* LXXVII (April and July, 1959), 71-90, 152-172.

[2]For a fuller account of this "little tempest in a very small teapot" (to use Joline's phrase), see Arthur S. Link, *Wilson, The Road to the White House* (Princeton, 1947), pp. 353-357.

[3]The persons named here are William Jay Magie, Chancellor of New Jersey; Bayard Henry, a member of the Pennsylvania Senate; and Percy Rivington Pyne, Commissioner of the New Jersey State Reformatory. Magie and Henry were trustees of the University.

[4]The person referred to here is obviously Thomas Nesbitt McCarter, Sr. (1824-1901), rather than his son of the same name (1867-1955). Hence the term, "son of the present generation," is an error for "father."

NEW JERSEY IN PRINT

WILLIAM H. GAINES, JR.

BOOKS

Genealogical Research, Methods and Sources. Edited by Milton Rubincam. (Washington, D. C.: The American Genealogical Society, 1960. viii, 456 pages.) Includes a brief section on bibliographical references, official records, and other matters of interest to New Jersey genealogists.

History of Perth Amboy, New Jersey, 1651-1959, Vol. II. By William C. McGinnis. (Perth Amboy: American Publishing Company, 1959. 145 pages.) The first volume appeared in 1957. The present volume stresses institutional and economic developments.

An Introduction to Crime and Punishment in Colonial New Jersey. By Harry B. Weiss and Grace M. Weiss. (Trenton: The Past Times Press, 1960. v, 99 pages.)

ARTICLES

General History and Biography

"A Celebrated Revolutionary Highway: I," by Willard De Yoe, in *De Halve Maen,* January 1960, pp. 7-8. The highway in question followed the same general route as the modern US 202.

"The Crown and the Colonial Charters, 1675-1688; Part II," by Philip S. Haffenden, in *William and Mary Quarterly,* October 1958, pp. 452-466. Includes material on the charter issued to the proprietors of New Jersey.

"A Diplomat's Mailbag; William Lewis Dayton in Paris, 1861-1864," by Esther Felt Bentley, in *Princeton University Library Chronicle,* Spring 1959, pp. 145-153. An account of the New Jerseyman who was American Minister to France during the Civil War and his papers, which are now in the Firestone Library at Princeton.

"Earliest Dutch Settlements in Hudson County," by Frederick W. Bogert, in *De Halve Maen,* April 1959, pp. 7-8.

"Equine Encephalomyelitis, Latest Chapter in a Long War against Mosquitoes," in *Report from Rutgers,* November 1959, pp. 2-4. Recalls the career of Dr. John B. Smith, "father of New Jersey mosquito control," and a distinguished Rutgers entomologist.

"Hezekiah Stites (1726-1790), Regular Practitioner," by Fred B. Rogers, in *Journal of the Medical Society of New Jersey,* October 1959, pp. 630-632. Dr. Stites practised in and around Cranbury.

"Historical Evolution of 'Old Bergen' County," by Richard Amerman, in *De Halve Maen,* July 1959, pp. 7-8.

"I Live in New Jersey," by John T. Cunningham, in *The National Geographic Magazine,* January 1960. Primarily a travel article, but includes information on the historical background of many of the places discussed. Profusely and attractively illustrated.

"Irish Settlers in Early New Jersey, Colony and State," by Richard I. Purcell, in *The New Jersey Genesis,* April 1959, pp. 224-227; July 1959, pp. 236-239; and October 1959, pp. 248-250.

"John Tatham, Alias Gray," by Henry H. Bisbee, in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* July 1959, pp. 253-264. The subject of this sketch had "a Great and Stately Palace" in Burlington during the closing years of the seventeenth century. In the same issue (pp. 265-270) is an article, " 'The Great and Stately Palace,' Inventories of the Estate of John and Elizabeth Tatham," by Lois V. Given.

"Mrs. Prevost Requests the Honor of His Company . . .", by Dorothy Valentine Smith, in *Manuscripts,* Fall 1959, pp. 27-31. Concerns a letter written in 1778 by Theodora Bartow Prevost, the future wife of Aaron Burr, inviting General Washington to her home near Paramus.

"New Jersey's 200-Year-Old School," by Mrs. Gertrude S. Bodine, in *NJEA Review,* October 1959, pp. 110-111. Concerns the building

at Mount Holly recently restored by the Colonial Dames of New Jersey.

"New York Ferry Boats," in *American Heritage,* October 1959, pp. 26-31, 78. Includes material on ferries that docked on the Jersey side.

"The Old Barracks at Trenton," by Mrs. Louise B. Ralston, in *NJEA Review,* April 1958, pp. 352-353, 377.

"The Patriot and the Knave," by Walter N. Eastburn, in *Manuscripts,* Summer 1959, pp. 42-46. An account of the strange relationship between Walter Rutherfurd of Newark and James Robertson, British general and Royalist governor of New York. Based on the Rutherfurd Papers in the Society's library and on manuscripts in the author's own collection.

"The Rise of the New York Bar: The Legal Career of William Livingston," by Milton M. Klein, in *William and Mary Quarterly,* July 1958, pp. 334-358. Contains material on litigation involving New Jersey lands.

"Sir Edmund Plowden and the New Albion Charter," by Edward C. Carter 2nd and Clifford Lewis 3rd, in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* April 1959, pp. 150-179. Sir Edmund's grant included parts of Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland, and approximately two-thirds of New Jersey. Issued in 1634, the charter involved the first "serious attempt to plant a British settlement on the banks of the Delaware."

"Toponomy of the Delaware Valley as Revealed by an Early Seventeenth-Century Dutch Map," by A. R. Dunlap and C. A. Weslager, in *Bulletin of the Archeological Society of New Jersey,* November 1958, pp. 1-13. The *Bulletin* contains a reproduction of this map, now in the Library of Congress.

"William Augustus Newell (1817-1901); Physician, Governor, Congressman," by Fred B. Rogers, M. D., in *Journal of the Medical Society of New Jersey,* May 1959, pp. 278-281.

"Witherspoon, Rittenhouse and Sir Isaac Newton," by Brookes Hindle, in *William and Mary Quarterly,* July 1958, pp. 365-372. The views of Witherspoon and Rittenhouse on Newtonian theory are compared, to the former's disadvantage.

Economic and Industrial History

"Batsto: A Remembrance of Things Past," by Charles V. Mathis, in *New Jersey Business,* October 1959, pp. 28-30.

"A Century of Oil Progress," in *New Jersey Business,* September 1959, pp. 26-27.

"New Jersey Business — Looking Back a Century," in *New Jersey Business,* April 1959, pp. 19-26. A brief survey of industrial development in the state, with notes on various types of enterprise that have flourished here.

"Pennsylvania Coal and Steam Navigation," by Frederick M. Binder, in *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* October 1959, pp. 420-445. Includes material on the Dela-

ware and Hudson Canal by which Pennsylvania coal was moved across New Jersey to Hudson River ports.

LITERATUE AND THE ARTS

"Freneau's last published poem," by Philip Marsh, in *American Literature,* March 1958, pp. 103-106. The poem, entitled "On the Battle of Monmouth," appeared in the Trenton *True American.*

"History in Houses, the William Trent House in Trenton, New Jersey," by Helen Comstock, in *Antiques,* October 1958, pp. 318-321. This issue of *Antiques* was devoted largely to New Jersey subjects.

"John Notman, Architect," by Francis James Dallett, in *Princeton University Library Chronicle,* Spring 1959, pp. 127-139. Notman, a "bottle-a-day" man, designed many buildings in New Jersey, particularly in Princeton, Burlington, and Mount Holly. His plan, drawn in 1845, for an extension of the State House at Trenton, is in the possession of the New Jersey Historical Society.

"Letters of Rutgers Literary Clubs," by G. Stuart Demarest, in *The Journal of the Rutgers University Library,* December 1958, pp. 1-9. Concerns the correspondence of the Philoclean and Peithessophian Societies between 1826 and 1879. The article ends with a list of the celebrities which these organizations sought to enlist as honorary members or as speakers.

"New Letters of Walt Whitman," by Edwin H. Miller, in *The Bulletin of the Missouri Historical Society,* January 1960, pp. 99-113. Refers to several letters written by Walt during the Camden years. The originals are in the Missouri Historical Society.

"Notes on Micah Williams, Native of New Jersey," by Irwin F. Cortelyou, in *Antiques,* December 1958, pp. 540-541. Williams was a pastel artist living in Newark.

"Notes from a New Jersey Collector," by Esther I. Schwartz, in *Antiques,* October 1958, pp. 329-333. Contains references to weaving in Paterson, to silversmiths, and to water-colorists.

"Some Early Furniture Makers of New Jersey," in *Antiques,* October 1958, pp. 322-325.

"Stephen Crane: Anti-Imperialist," by Thomas Arthur Gullason, in *American Literature,* May 1958, pp. 237-241.

"Storming Stevens Castle," by T[erry] B. M[artin]., in *Historic Preservation,* 1959, pp. 140-144. The recently razed mansion of Inventor John Stevens, its history and the controversy attending its demolition.

"Struthers Burt, '04, The Literary Career of a Princetonian," by Nathaniel Burt, in *Princeton University Library Chronicle,* Spring and Summer (double number) 1959, pp. 109-122. The same issue (pp. 123-148) also includes "A Checklist of the Writings of Struthers Burt, '04," by Alexander D. Wainwright.

ANTIQUER'S ATTIC

MARGARET E. WHITE

DRESSING JUNIOR

If you think that dressing today's child is a problem, what would you have done in the 1700's! Until the last quarter of the 18th century everything worn by Junior from the age of four upwards had to be a replica in miniature of a man's costume. In the American Colonies, as well as in France and England, boys wore suits of dark velvet or of lute-string silk in light colors, the coat skirts smartly cut, the sleeves finished with deep cuffs, lace ruffles at wrist and throat. The waistcoat might be of flowered dimity or of finely embroidered silk. The breeches reached just below the knee and the thread stockings were tied with ribbon garters. The hair was tied in a queue, usually not powdered, and a cocked hat completed the outfit.

Portraits of children and books on historic costume attest to such wearing apparel for school and all public appearances. Chardin's painting, *"La Gouvernante,"* shows a French lad of 1730 dressed in this manner. Judging by the books tucked under his arm, the little boy might be starting off to school. Speaking of his childhood in the reign of Louis XIV, the Duc de Lauzun—who entered the French Guards at the age of twelve—commented that his fine suits were reserved for the public while at home he was only half clothed. So let us hope children of that day could relax in comfort occasionally.

The New Jersey Historical Society owns a pastel portrait of Robert Drummond, probably painted about 1768 *(Plate 4)*. Robert, born 1762, was the son of Robert and Jennie Vreeland Drummond of Acquackanonk Landing (now Passaic), New Jersey. The boy wears a henna-red coat with deep cuffs, trimmed with large buttons—possibly silver. The soft white shirt has a frilled collar open at the throat and turned back over the coat. The light-colored waistcoat is trimmed with a double row of small matching buttons. The fair hair is worn with a short fringe on the forehead, and curls up slightly at the ends, which rest on the shoulders. The Society has a group of four pastels showing members of the Drummond family.

In 1759 George Washington ordered for his stepson, aged six, the following outfit from England:

2 laced hats
1 pair gloves
4 pairs pumps
6 pairs fine thread stockings
4 pairs coarser thread stockings
6 pairs worsted stockings
1 piece of black hair ribbon
6 pocket handkerchiefs "small and fine"
1 pair "handsome silver shoe and knee buckles"

1 "light duffel cloak with silver frogs"
1 summer suit of clothes "to be made of something light and thin"

The order also included pieces of Irish Holland, fine cambric and India Nankeen, a "piece" being equivalent to ten yards of material. Nankeen was a yellow cotton cloth imported from China and named for the city of Nanking, where it was made. Perhaps such material was used for summer suiting. In *English Children's Costume Since 1775* Iris Brooke illustrates a boy's suit of nankeen dating from the mid-19th century.

Marie Antoinette is said to have been the first mother to disregard established fashion. For the young Dauphin the Queen had a simple suit made, consisting of close-fitting jacket and trousers. Of course French fashion reviled anything so sensible, but it is interesting to find that by the end of the 18th century in England and America the style attributed to Marie Antoinette was quite generally worn by boys.

A word should be said about trousers. If you noticed, the suit designed by the French Queen consisted of a coat and trousers—not knee breeches. At that period trousers were considered suitable only for working men and sailors; no gentlemen would have been seen in them. It is said that in the early years of the 19th century the Duke of Wellington was once refused admittance to the famous assembly hall known as Almack's, because he was wearing trousers instead of breeches.

In the first decade of the 19th century young boys wore suits of kersey — a woolen fabric — with ankle-length trousers buttoned onto a waist, a soft collar and, sometimes, ankle ruffles of white cambric. The portrait of John F. Anderson *(Plate 5)*, painted about 1830 when he was four or five, shows him wearing a blue suit of this type. His visored cap with a tassel lies on the ground at his feet. Another outfit introduced at the beginning of the 19th century was a tunic worn over white trousers or pataloons. The tunic was a highly popular garment for boys, worn quite full and reaching to the knee, with a tight belt at the waist. We find it repeatedly in portraits dating from the first half of the century.

By 1820-1825 pantaloons, either plain or elaborately tucked and frilled, were an important part of the costume for either boy or girl, but when worn by the latter they were termed pantalets.

The frilled cambric blouse, which came into vogue in the late 18th century, was still popular in the 1830's, when it sometimes replaced the tunic. The Museum owns two blouses of this type. With either blouse or tunic would be worn the plaid or check trousers which by the 1830's had become extremely fashionable for small boys. McClellan's *Historic Dress in America* shows a boy of 1832 wearing a high hat, a tunic of kerseymere with leg-of-mutton sleeves, white pantaloons, a stiff ruffle about the neck. Sometimes the pantaloons followed the cut of the sleeves, being very full from hip to knee, then taper-

ing to the ankle. What an incredible outfit, and how smart-looking his mama must have thought her child!

The high or stovepipe hat seems to have become the fashion for young boys in the 1830's. These hats were of straw in summer and beaver in winter. As an alternative there was the cloth cap with a stiff visor and a tassel that hung down on one side. A stovepipe hat of beaver is shown in the charming portrait of James Bruen owned by the New Jersey Historical Society. The tasseled cap has already been noted in the portrait of John Anderson.

The Newark Museum and the Historical Society own a number of portraits depicting the regulation costume for boys of this period. At the Society is a half-length portrait showing the son of Mr. and Mrs. Henry C. Jones of 39 Liberty Street, Newark. His dark coat with full sleeves and his white sharply-pointed collar are almost identical with the suits worn by the two young sons of William and Abigail Ogden Rankin, painted by Oliver Tarbell Eddy in 1838. This large portrait, owned by the Museum, shows Henry Van Vleck Rankin, born 1825, and John Joseph Rankin, born 1831, together with two of their sisters. Both boys wear dark coats and trousers, the full sleeves gathered in at the armhole, the coat front trimmed with small matching buttons. Over the coat is worn a pointed collar of white lawn with hemstitched edge.

It was enthusiasm for the Waverley novels by Sir Walter Scott that put boys at about this time into tartan kilts and Glengarry caps. With the kilt might be worn cambric pantaloons with embroidered edges, a black velvet coat with an Eton collar, a white shirt and bow tie. Why pantaloons with kilts? Because bare knees were not yet permissible.

Meanwhile, the ordinary costume for older boys was a pair of long, loose-fitting trousers, a waistcoat cut rather low and showing a white shirt, a jacket or spencer that was short and without tails. The cravat worn by men was usually omitted from the boy's outfit.

Until the age of four or five, small boys were dressed just like their sisters with petticoats and frocks, so that in portraits it is difficult to distinguish boys from girls—especially if the boy's hair is long. This custom still prevails in some places, as the writer discovered in Holland four years ago. So often in the 19th century a boy's hair was long! Like the modern woman's skirts, hair went up and down from decade to decade. In the opening years of the 19th century a boy's hair was cut short, but by 1825 it was worn in long curls. In 1840 hair was short at the ears in what was known as a "Buster Brown cut," but this respite was brief. Periodically curls and fringes returned, and it seems to have been quite customary for hair to remain long and curled until a boy donned manly trousers.

Striped stockings for girls and boys appeared about 1850 along with elastic-sided boots of ankle height, sometimes made of colored

cloth, with shiny patent-leather toe caps and heels. Boys' knees became visible for the first time in the latter half of the 1850's.

At the Historical Society is a full-length portrait in oil of David Alling's two grandsons *(Plate 6)*, painted in the 1850's. The younger child, with hair cut short, wears a crimson dress with fashionable off-the-shoulder line and a white embroidered petticoat that is much in evidence. The gold shoulder clasps are like those worn by the youngest child in the large Ward family portrait at the Museum *(Proceedings,* October, 1959, *Plate 1)*. The shoes are of brown cloth with patent-leather toe and heel. The older boy is dressed in a plaid tunic reaching to the knees and secured at the waist by a dark belt, a plain white collar, and long gray trousers.

In *Godey's Lady's Book* and *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* one finds occasional illustrations of clothes for boys. The most remarkable, perhaps, is the "practical dress for a boy of four or five" illustrated and described in Godey's for July, 1856. "The body is made of velvet, generally blue or green, with narrow bands of black velvet. The trimming up the front is vandyked at the edge, with a plain piece of velvet of the same color, but of a lighter shade, laid underneath, finished on the opposite side with narrow lace. The skirt is white, with pressed vandyked velvet with a scalloped velvet to match that on the body placed underneath. The buttons up the front may be either flat or ornamented bell buttons; if the latter, they should be gold and white. The ribbons at the shoulders and the tassel (at the front edge of the 'body') must match the color of the velvet. This dress is the newest out this season, and looks extremely well either with or without white drawers."

As James Laver remarks in his delightful article "From Nudity to Pantalettes", which appeared in the Christmas issue of *The Illustrated London News,* 1959, "Children of today should be grateful that their clothes are now designed chiefly for their own convenience and comfort, and not to display the social status of their parents or to indicate the 'artistic' tastes of their doting mothers."

The belted tunic disappeared in the early '60's, to be replaced by a suit of black velvet with linen collar and cuffs edged with lace. The trousers resembled today's plus-fours. The Newark Museum has a small velvet suit of 1861, with a delicate flower-and-leaf design embroidered in black silk around the edge of jacket and sleeves, across the two breast pockets, down the outside of the trouser legs and around the bottom above a black lace edging. Coat and sleeves are edged with narrower lace. Evidently the coat would have been worn with a round white collar, which explains why the neck is finished merely with narrow binding. This suit was worn by William Wallace Taulman, aged five, at a wedding in Nyack, New York.

Sailor suits for boys appeared between 1865 and 1870, but to us it seems incongruous that with this suit Junior wore a wide fringe on

his forehead and curls resting on his shoulders. The popularity of the sailor suit lasted for some 50 years, the vogue only ending about the time of World War I. The trousers of a sailor suit might be long or short, tight-fitting or baggy, as suits worn by imported boy dolls of the period can testify. With the sailor suit a boy ordinarily wore a reefer coat and a tam-o'-shanter.

About 1880 the navy-blue jersey, for many years a recognized part of a fisherman's outfit, was added to boys' apparel. In this same period we have the serge suit worn with knee breeches and, a few years later, the Little Lord Fauntleroy style of costume in black velvet and lace, with a wide sash tied around the waist—and long curls, of course.

By 1885-1890 a three-piece suit in checked tweed was fashionable, worn with Eton collar and soft bow tie. The Newark Museum has such a suit in green and black check. Lapels were rarely cut on boys' coats at that period, and so the coat of this tweed suit was made to fasten at the throat and fell open from there.

"Shorts" reaching barely to the knee were a new style in 1895-1900 and became universal wear for boys up to eleven or twelve years of age. With these a boy might wear a white silk shirt with wide collar and cuffs. An alternative for "shorts" might be knee breeches of black velvet. Usually the older boys had Eton or Norfolk suits, with breeches that buttoned or buckled below the knee. The stiff white Eton collar soiled so quickly that economical parents replaced it with one of celluloid, which must have added considerably to Junior's discomfort. It was owing to the difficulty of obtaining starch during World War I that the soft-collared shirt was adopted by men and boys.

The beginning of the 20th century found children once again dressed in the white, cream, or pale colors of a century before. This does not seem to have applied so much to young boys as to their sisters, although Iris Brooke refers to a boy's suit of ivory velvet and one of cream-colored alpaca. The Newark Museum has a little boy's coat of 1900, made of ivory fabric in fancy weave. It is trimmed with ivory satin laid in deep pleats around the edge of the collar, the edge of the cuffs, and the bottom of the coat. There is a sash of ivory satin with an ornamental bow in front, and a lavish use of small pearl buttons as additional trimming. Let us hope the child was too young to realize what his doting mama had done to him. Whether or not you like today's cowboy suits and space-age helmets, they at least permit a boy to look as masculine as he wants to feel.

Plate 4. Robert Drummond (b. 1762), son of Major Robert and Jennie Vreeland Drummond of Acquackanonk Landing,

Plate 5. John F. Anderson, painted about 1830. *(Photograph of the original painting in the Newark Museum, courtesy of*

Plate 6. Grandsons of David Alling, Newark Chairmaker. *(Photo-copy from the original oil painting, c. 1855, in the collection of the New Jersey Historical Society)*

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(Concluded from the January issue)

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